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Materials for a History

OF THE FAMILY OF

JOHN SULLIVAN OF BERWICK, NEW ENGLAND,

AND OF THE

O'SULLIVANS OF ARDEA, IRELAND.

CHIEFLY COLLECTED BY THE LATE

THOMAS COFFIN AMORY.

Meredith, Gertrude Eudemia, comp.]

WITH A PEDIGREE OF O'SULLIVAN BEARE,

BY

SIR J. BERNARD BURKE, C.B., LL.D., Ulster.

[illegible]

Printed for Private Distribution.

CAMBRIDGE:

JOHN WILSON AND SON.

University Press.

1893.

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CLASSIFICATION
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IN 1889 I was requested to arrange the papers left by my uncle, the late T. C. Amory. I had been accustomed for years to hear him talk of the genealogical questions in which he was interested. In making, at the suggestion of two of my cousins, the present book from his Sullivan collection, I have tried to put his materials in convenient order for any member of the family who may share Mr. Amory's taste, and may wish to complete what he began.

G. E. MEREDITH.

THIS work having been prepared in consultation with me, I approve it in all respects.

RICHARD SULLIVAN.

BOSTON, June 1, 1893.

SOME copies of this book remain undistributed, and may be purchased for three dollars each. On application, with the price enclosed, to Miss G. E. MEREDITH, P. O. Box 3324, Boston, Mass., one or more will be forwarded post free.

A LIST OF

PUBLICATIONS BY THOMAS C. AMORY,

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE SULLIVAN FAMILY.

The Life of James Sullivan, with Selections from his Writings. Boston, 1859. 2 vols.

The Military Services and Public Life of Major General John Sullivan of the American Revolutionary Army. Albany and Boston, 1868.

The following are pamphlets : —

General John Sullivan: A Vindication of his Character as a Soldier and a Patriot. From the Historical Magazine for December, 1866. Morrisania, N. Y., 1867.

The Military Services of Major General John Sullivan in the American Revolution vindicated from recent Historical Criticism. Read at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, December, 1866, with Additions and Documents. Cambridge, 1868.

Master Sullivan of Berwick, his Ancestors and Descendants. No date.

General Sullivan not a Pensioner of Luzerne (Minister of France at Philadelphia, 1778–1783). With the Report of the New Hampshire Historical Society vindicating him from the Charge made.

Memoir of Hon. William Sullivan, prepared for early Diary of Massachusetts Historical Proceedings. Cambridge, 1879.

The Siege of Newport, August, 1778. Reprinted from the Rhode Island Historical Magazine for October, 1884. Newport, 1884.

Daniel Sullivan's Visits, May and June, 1771, to General John Sullivan. Reprinted from a Paper read to the Massachusetts Historical Society, March, 1884. With Additional Comments. Cambridge, 1884.

Memoir of Hon. Richard Sullivan. Reprinted from Vol. IV. of the Memorial Biographies of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society. Cambridge, 1885.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

OF THE

DOCUMENTS

PRINTED OR NOTICED IN THE FOLLOWING NARRATIVE.

[The initials T. C. A. placed after any title in this list indicate that the original document is preserved among Mr. Amory's papers.]

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1737–8. A Deed from Tebbets to Tebbets, drawn and witnessed by John Sullivan. T. C. A. . . 33

1743. Advertisement in the "Boston Evening Post" signed Margery Sullivan. From a Volume of the "Post" owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society. 34

1751. Page from the Account Book of Samuel Bracket, trader, in account with John Sullivan. Original owned in 1874 by Mr. James G. Bracket, of Biddeford, Maine. 37

1753. Surveyor's Report of renewing the Bounds between the Land of Samuel Lord and of John Sullivan at the Great Falls, and their Agreement concerning the Fence. 39

1759–62. Page of Samuel Bracket, Jr.'s Account with the Committee of the North Parish of Berwick. Original owned in 1874 by Mr. James G. Bracket. 40

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[Five papers were lent to Mr. Amory in 1874 by Mr. Wm. P. Haines of Biddeford, which are now probably to be found in the York Institute at Saco, Maine, viz. : —

1750. A Bond written and witnessed by John Sullivan.

1759. An Original Letter from John Sullivan to Samuel Bracket and the Committee of the North Parish.

An Order to John Sullivan, Jr., concerning his pew in the Meeting-House of the North Parish.

1762. Report of a Committee of the North Parish written and signed by John Sullivan, Jr., one of the Committee.

A Power of Attorney written and witnessed by Ebenezer Sullivan.]

1765. Indenture of Agreement between John Sullivan, Senior, and John Sullivan, Junior. T. C. A. Received from Judge John Sullivan of Exeter, N. H. 42

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1788. Letter from Miss Nannette O'Sullivan, Dublin. T. C. A. Received from Dr. Richard Steele. . 66

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NARRATIVE AND DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO THE

FAMILY OF JOHN SULLIVAN.

PART I.

IN NEW ENGLAND.

THE following pages are put together for the descendants of JOHN SULLIVAN, farmer and schoolmaster in a frontier town in Maine in the last three quarters of the eighteenth century. We have endeavoured in writing to satisfy the two kinds of readers whom we expect. First, the genealogist, who wants nothing but facts, discoveries, traces, arguments, the history of documents, exact dates, and always the name of one's authority. Secondly, those of the family who are far from desiring a basis for farther work of their own, but who are willing to know so much of their forefathers' history as is clear, interesting, and of settled authenticity.

The papers of the late THOMAS COFFIN AMORY contain, in letters and documents, not only his authority for almost all the family history which he printed, but also the result of inquiries made by him after his books were published. The earlier collection relates chiefly to John Sullivan's life in America, and the family which has descended from him. The later collection

deals with his origin, his home in Ireland, and his kindred there. We here put the principal part of both into print, to make it accessible to the whole family, and also to guard against its loss. The originals will still, of course, be preserved with all possible care, but there is always danger that old letters may be lost or destroyed by accident, even if they do not fade too much to be read. We do not print the whole of every letter, having thought it unnecessary to give unimportant repetitions, unfounded opinions, and those formalities of letter writing which are necessary at the moment, but tedious to read afterwards. Wherever we leave out so much as a word, the omission is marked, but the reader need not fear, as one is apt to do in such cases, that the dots are in place of something he would have liked to see. We have printed very little of what belongs to the later history of John Sullivan's sons and their families, because to make this part complete and to authenticate it would involve a great deal of work, and work that can be done much better by each branch for its own ancestor. We have contented ourselves with drawing up from the letters a list — page 149, which the reader should examine before going farther — of the first three generations of John Sullivan's descendants, his children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, with their dates of birth, death, marriage, etc. Some of the dates are wanting; we have supplied all we could find, and regret to leave the record still so incomplete. Any one who knows a missing date can write

it in its place in the list, where in every case we have left room for it; and each of the five branches of the family may add its own later generations on the blank pages provided at the end. We make no statement in the lists or elsewhere without having in the letters or by personal inquiry what we consider good authority for it. We shall be glad to receive corrections. In one or two instances we give a date otherwise than as it stands printed in Mr. Amory's works. We have done so because we could not find the authority for his statement, — which might be a printer's error, — and so were compelled to follow the original letters from which he chiefly derived his information. He did once or twice visit the neighbourhood of Berwick, but there is only one story of which he tells us that he heard it there. (See page 25.)

We have arranged the names on a plan which will, we hope, be simple to the least practised genealogist. The only family of names entirely missing are, we believe, those of the children of Lydia Sullivan, youngest daughter of Ebenezer. We are told in an unsigned, undated paper, that she "married in 1803 William Emery, and removed to Shapleigh, Maine, where she died and left descendants." The Town Records of Shapleigh say that on April 5, 1803, William Emery and Lydia Sullivan, both of Shapleigh, were "published"; and, oddly enough, that they were published again July 29th, 1805. In 1797, two years before her father's death, Lydia's elder sister Margery had married Robert Rodgers,

who with his brother built the first store in Shapleigh, 1793, sold out in 1804, and removed in 1812 to Exeter, N. H. The Rodgers family are spoken of at some length in a pamphlet History of Shapleigh by the Rev. Amasa Loring, Portland, 1854,[1] where several Emerys also are mentioned, but no William appears. Nor can even the historian of the Emery family, the Rev. Rufus Emery of Newburgh, N. Y., who has kindly tried, find for us anywhere a William who could have been Lydia's husband.

About 1854 Mr. Amory was writing the life of his grandfather, James Sullivan, who was Governor of Massachusetts in 1808. Mr. Amory wished the work to open with some notice of its subject's father and mother, but found his knowledge about them not sufficient. He was not content either with what he could learn from the three sons of James Sullivan then still living.

James's sister, and all of his brothers but one, had married and left descendants settled in New Hampshire and Maine. Mr. Amory wrote to several of these, and found them as much interested as he himself was in gathering facts for his story. All the old papers that could be found — they were not many — were, it appears, readily forwarded to him, and he received and kept letters from —

Mr. Hiram Emery, Mr. John S. Emery, and Mr. W. H. Simpson, of Daniel Sullivan's family;

Miss Margaret Wood Sullivan, Judge John Sulli-

[1] Boston Public Library, No. 4436. 53.

van, Mr. George S. Sullivan, and Dr. Richard Steele, of JOHN SULLIVAN Junior's family;

Mr. Samuel Wells and Mr. Frederick B. Wells, of MARY (SULLIVAN) HARDY'S family; and

Mrs. Solomon Brooks, Mr. John S. Rogers, Mr. Charles C. Yeaton, Mr. A. R. H. Fernald, Mr. James Sullivan, and Mr. John W. Sullivan, of EBENEZER SULLIVAN'S family.

Thus each of John Sullivan's married children is represented in the correspondence, which includes also one or two letters not from the family reporting reminiscences of Berwick neighbours. These are rather vague, but from the whole collection together it is clear that the field of tradition touching John Sullivan's life in America was thoroughly gleaned about sixty years after his death. We shall now give ten of the letters in order, according to their dates.

LETTER I. — *From Judge John Sullivan, Grandson of General Sullivan.*

EXETER, Dec. 5th, 1855.

THOMAS C. AMORY, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have received yours of the 2nd inst. enquiring as to that branch of the Sullivan family which descended from my grandfather, General John Sullivan. . . . Excuse me for making one or two suggestions as to the ancestry of the General. The name of our great-grandmother is questionable. A Mr. Lord, formerly of Berwick, a neighbour of the family and intimately acquainted with it, and who recently died at

a very advanced age, said that her maiden name was Margery Brown.

It is now too late to look for any reliable information in regard to the ancestry of our great-grandfather. Most of the information we have of him is traditionary and uncertain.

. . . . . .

I learned from my father that when he left Ireland, in 1723, he told his family that he was going where they should never see nor hear from him again, and they never did. A letter is now in my possession directed to my grandfather, making inquiry in relation to your great-grandfather. It was received in the country after the General's death. It will convince you that his family never heard from him. As it may interest you as well as aid you in your search after his ancestry, I will give you a literal copy of it. It is as follows. [Here follows a copy of the letter of Philip O'Sullivan, in 1796. See page 62.]

You inquire the name of the oldest son of your great-grandfather. It was Benjamin. He was an officer on board of a British man-of-war before the Revolution, and died in early manhood. I never understood that he left property for the education of his brothers John and James. John was assisted by his father to acquire his education; and I have a deed in my possession from your great-grandfather to his son John of his farm in Berwick, to take effect after his and his wife's decease, the condition of which among other things was that he should educate James to the law and support him till he should be admit-

ted to the practice. The condition of the deed was fulfilled before your great-grandfather's death, and I believe he acknowledged it upon the back of the instrument. . . .

Yr. obedient servant,

JNO. SULLIVAN.

LETTER II. — *From the same.*

EXETER, Dec. 16, 1855.

THOMAS C. AMORY, JR., ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received yours of the 13th inst. . . .

Eben Sullivan was one of the bravest of the brave. Danger had no terrors for him. Two or three anecdotes which I learned from my father respecting him illustrate his character. He was once a hostage with the Indians for the fulfilment of some treaty or agreement with them. They had with them American prisoners. Eben and the prisoners were insulted by some young Indians, and he seized a ladle and threw boiling soup upon them from a pot over the fire. It was an act of madness, and he would have lost his life by it, but the prisoners with great difficulty saved him.

While in the army he with other officers were invited to play cards. In the course of the evening a dispute took place between him and the officer who invited him. The officer challenged him, he of course accepted, and they agreed to fight across the room. The officer produced his pistols and the parties took their stations. An order was given to fire and Eben fired without

effect. His antagonist reserved his fire. He then raised his pistol and told Eben to apologize or he would kill him, and repeated the threat two or three times. Eben as often refused and told him to fire. At length, having no partiality for the position and losing all command over his temper, he threw his pistol at his opponent's head and knocked him down. Upon examination it was found that no ball had gone through the ceiling, and that neither of the pistols had been loaded with a ball. In consequence of the insults which this officer subsequently received from his brethren for an act so cowardly and dishonourable, he was obliged to resign his position in the army.

. . . . . .

The above anecdotes afford but a one-sided view of the character of Eben Sullivan. He was a man of pleasure, gay, hospitable, generous to a fault. About twelve or fourteen years ago an old woman who had seen better days lived in my family as a servant. When quite young she often visited in the family of Eben. She described him as a very mild, gentlemanly man, and one of the kindest and most indulgent men she ever knew. She never saw him excited but once, and then his voice and manner were terrific. . . . You mention that Mr. Peabody speaks of General Sullivan as the third son of John the elder. I believe he is correct. The eldest was Benjamin, the next Daniel, the third John.

I am writing on at random, and probably telling anecdotes which may be familiar to you, but as they will never see the light I will write on.

I intimated to you that the cause of your great-grandfather leaving Ireland was not generally known. It was on account of his mother's treatment toward him. She is said to have been high-spirited and proud. His dissatisfaction proceeded from this cause. He became attached to a lady of beauty and accomplishment, but of a family not equal to his own in respectability and wealth. His mother, who was a widow, opposed the marriage, and warned him that if he disobeyed her in this particular he should derive no aid from her hand nor any advantage from her property. He desired her to reflect for a week before she should confirm her resolution, and told her that, if she then persisted in her opposition to his marriage, he would go where she should never see him nor hear from him again. At the expiration of the period mentioned she persisted in her opposition. He carried his threat into execution.

. . . . . .

I will relate another anecdote respecting him, to show the strength of his memory, even in advanced age. When he was something more than eighty years old he sent to Durham and borrowed of my grandfather a French grammar, dictionary, and some other French books, saying that the French language might be useful to him at some future day. In four months he wrote a letter in French to my grandfather containing ingenious commentaries upon the authors he had read.

He lived to be one hundred and five years old; and when more than a hundred he would ride on horseback to Durham, fifteen miles, and back the same day.

His wife is said to have been a small woman. She was very remarkable for her beauty, her vanity, her talents and energy, and, if tradition be true, not less remarkable for the violence of her temper.

I have seen it stated that your great-grandfather paid her passage to America. It is not true. His first acquaintance with her commenced on board the ship in which they sailed for this country.

. . . . . .

I think you are in error as to the place of Benjamin Sullivan's death. I have always understood that he was lost at sea, that the vessel in which he sailed was never heard from after she left the port.

. . . . . .

Perhaps you may desire a description of General Sullivan. I will give it to you as I have heard it from others. In his person he was short, about five feet six or seven inches in height. He was fleshy, and very erect and well formed; his hair was very dark, almost black; his complexion was dark and his cheeks red; his eyes black and piercing. His manners were dignified, but easy and graceful, having a faculty of making each one in a company of several persons think he was an object of his particular attention. He was hospitable and fond of display. He was prodigal of money. In his dealings he was honest, generous, and honourable. In his temper he was ordinarily mild and tranquil, and as far removed from petulance as a man could be, but when roused to resentment he was stormy and violent.

Your great-grandfather, I have been told, was a tall spare man, very mild and gentle, thoughtful and studious, an excellent scholar but averse to bodily exertion.

Excuse me, sir, for the very careless and rapid manner in which I have written. I give to you what I have learned from members of the family who have gone before me. I think it is generally correct, but may in some respects be erroneous. . . . With great respect,

I am your obt. servant,

JNO. SULLIVAN.

LETTER III. — *From Mrs. Brooks, Granddaughter of Ebenezer Sullivan.*

YORK, MAINE, Jan. 11, 1856.

MR. AMORY.

DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 3rd inst. was duly received. In reply I will say that I shall be most happy to take measures to obtain such information as you wish respecting my grandfather, Eben Sullivan. I fear that we may not be able to collect many things which might be desirable for the purpose you name. My grandfather was a lawyer by profession, and lived in Berwick, Me. He was sent out as hostage among the Indians at one time. At another, he was taken prisoner by them, and escaped only at the peril of his life. His having been sent out as hostage among the Indians leads me to suppose that there may be some account of him among the public records of his day. There is but one grandson in

our branch of the family bearing the name of Sullivan. James Sullivan is a sea-captain, sailing from New York. He is a son of John Sullivan, a brother of my mother, who was also a sea-captain, and lived in Portsmouth, N. H. He died in Norfolk, Va. Of him there is a portrait and miniature, both painted in London, I think. I have never seen any portrait of my grandfather, but can easily ascertain whether there is one, through my mother. You probably know that the name of our great-grandmother was Margery. My mother bears her name. She is still living, and I think much information could be elicited from her, which could not be obtained from any other source. She possesses naturally a strong mind, a retentive memory, and an unusually happy faculty of relating incidents. Although by reason of age she is not what she once was, yet her mind and memory is very good. During several of the last months of the life of our great-grandfather, my mother was with him. He died in May, 1796, at the age of one hundred and four years. Mother was then twenty-two. Aside from this, I think she must have had almost constant intercourse with the family from the accounts I have heard her give of *all* the various branches. She was likewise in the habit of spending much time in the office with her father, writing for him, etc. This circumstance would lead to a more intimate knowledge of family affairs than she might otherwise have had. . . . There was a Benjamin Sullivan, a brother of my grandfather. I presume that you know something of his history.

You are probably aware that John Sullivan Wells, of Exeter, N. H., the present prominent candidate for Governor of that State; Samuel Wells, the present Governor of Maine; Joseph B. Wells, who was Attorney and Lieutenant-Governor of the State of Illinois, and who died at the Astor House in New York last week, on his way home from the East; and Frederick B. Wells, who was sent by our government as Consul to South America,[1] — are grandsons of Mrs. Hardy, the sister of our grandfather. The two first-named gentlemen, and Dr. Richard Steele, of Durham, N. H., son of Judge Steele and grandson of General John Sullivan, would be likely to possess and seek to obtain information such as you ask for.

I am, with much respect, yours truly,

MARTHA W. BROOKS.

LETTER IV. — *From the same.*

YORK, January 21, 1856.

MR. AMORY.

DEAR SIR, — . . . I had supposed until within a few years that the first stopping-place of our great-grandparents in this country was Berwick. But I have been told that it was in this town, that part of it called Scotland. That they both hired on a farm with a man by the name of McIntire, — she assisting in household affairs. After fulfilling their engagements with them, he gave notice that he was about to leave for some other place. When interrogated as to where he was going

[1] Bermuda.

and what he was going to do, he replied, "I am going to Berwick to keep school." This caused much merriment among the people, as he had feigned himself very ignorant. I do not relate this as authentic, but so it is understood here. The late Judge Hayes of Berwick has told me many things respecting them. He always seemed much interested in their history. He sent for me to go to Berwick and select a piece of timber[1] from an old house-frame which came into his possession, telling me that it was the frame of the house in which my great-grandparents lived, and he wanted me to have a piece of it manufactured into some article of furniture to keep in remembrance of them. . . .

Yours truly,

MARTHA W. BROOKS.

LETTER V. — *From the same.*

YORK, Me., Feb. 6th, 1856.

THOMAS C. AMORY, JR., ESQ.

DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 3rd inst. was received last evening. I have done all that I can do by writing to procure information from mother relative to the matter of family history. In your letter of the 3rd inst. you inquire which was the oldest, Eben or Mrs. Hardy. Mrs. Hardy was the oldest. Perhaps I had better write to you now the personal appearance of grandfather. He was six feet high, dark hair, black eyes, florid complexion, very erect, well proportioned, a very fine

[1] From one of these pieces of timber, procured from Judge Hayes, Mr. Amos A. Lawrence had a chair made, which he gave to Mr. Amory.

figure, and, in the words of mother, "the handsomest man that I ever saw." This was corroborated by Captain Thompson, an elderly gentleman who spent a few hours with us last week. He is a son of the minister who preached in Berwick many years ago and lived a neighbour to grandfather. He remembers him well, and made the following remark: "He was a marked man as to personal appearance, natural abilities, and mental cultivation." . . .

A Paper in the Handwriting of Mrs. Martha W. Brooks, probably Notes of what she learned from her Mother, Mrs. Rogers.

John Sullivan was born in Dublin, Ireland, June, 1691. Margery Brown was born in Cork, Ireland, 1705. They were married immediately previous to their leaving for, or during their passage to, this country. They first lived in York, Maine. From there they went to Berwick and lived. Being of foreign birth and having no property, they were according to the custom of those days "warned out of town," lest they should become paupers. They had six children. . . . Mr. Sullivan was a teacher many years, and the principal teacher in that section of country, most of the people receiving their education through him. He was a very temperate man, never drank ardent spirits. He retained his faculties and physical strength in a remarkable degree until within a few months of his death. When he was 102 years old he cut his wood and made his fires. Several times after he was 102 he yoked his oxen, drove them one mile to a blacksmith to be shod, drove them homeward, and unyoked them without any help. He died in May, 1796. Had he lived until June he would have been 105 years old. His wife died in 1801, at the age of 96.

Ebenezer Sullivan, the youngest child of John and Margery

Sullivan, was born about the year 1753. He early gave his attention to the study of law, and continued its practice during his life, excepting when engaged in the service of his country and about six months previous to his death. In 1772 he married Abigail Cotton, of Portsmouth, N. H., and scttled at Berwick, Me. He moved to Durham, and lived a short time, then removed to Berwick, where he remained until hc went South a few months before he died. He had several commissions while he was in the army. One was a captain's, one a major's. I do not know what the other or others were. While an officer in the army he was taken by the Indians a prisoner. He was compelled for three months to follow them in their wanderings, barefooted, and no clothing to cover him except a blanket filled with vermin. Whcn they halted in their travels he would throw his blanket upon a rock and pound it with another, thus trying to kill some of the lice and render it a little more comfortable and less loathsome. At one time the fuel was prepared and placed in order, to burn him alive, and he expecting every moment it would be kindled, but a consultation was held, and he was spared, as he supposed, for an equally cruel death some other day. He kept himself very quiet and submissive, hoping for an opportunity to make his escape. Having been with them about three months, he discovered preparations making for a dance. As it was their custom to get intoxicated at such times, he resolved to improve the opportunity and make his escape. They were near a river and on the opposite side at no very great distance was a Dutch settlement. All things being ready, two of their number were selected to watch while the others were drinking, singing, dancing, etc. Having gone through their various performances and lain down in quiet unconsciousness, the two watchmen fell asleep. Thinking this to be the moment for him to improve, he left for the river. Just at the moment he stepped into the water he heard a shout,

and when he was in the middle of the stream, their dog, which was a very large and ferocious animal, jumped into the water after him. He turned around, raised his hands, and when the dog approached brought them down upon his head and held it under water until he was drowned. He then pursued his course toward the Dutch settlement, succeeded in reaching it, provided himself with clothes, and got safely home to his family. In 1799 he left his home for the South, but lived but a few months.

. . . . . .

LETTER VI. — *From Mr. W. H. Simpson, Great-grandson of Daniel Sullivan.*

BELFAST, Maine, Feb. 7, 1856.

DEAR SIR, — . . . Of John of Berwick we can probably give you no information that you are not now in possession of. My grandmother[1] says her father has often told her that his father (John Sullivan) left Ireland in consequence of an intrigue or an affair of that nature. That he left hurriedly we may infer from the fact that he pledged his services to one Nowell, of Newburyport, for the payment of his passage. Having been genteelly bred, and liberally educated, he was disgusted with the severe manual labour to which he was subjected, and wrote a letter expressed in seven different languages to a Dr. Moody, of Berwick, soliciting his aid in procuring more congenial employment. This application resulted in a loan to Sullivan of an amount sufficient to cancel his

[1] Mary, fourth child of Daniel Sullivan and Abigail Bean, married Josiah Simpson.

debt, and enable him to open a school at Berwick. He soon after married a young woman, Marjory or Margaret Brown, who was his fellow-passenger from Ireland.

. . . . . .

Yours very truly,

W. H. Simpson.

Letter VII. — *From Dr. Richard Steele, Grandson of General Sullivan.*

Newburyport, March 27th, 1856.

Thomas C. Amory, Jr., Esq.

Dear Sir, — Yours of the 15th inst. has been recd., and I will attempt to comply with your request. . . . The following sketch of the family of John Sullivan of Berwick I take from a memorandum of his which was kept by my grandmother, Lydia Sullivan, and after her death by my own mother, from whom it came to me. It is in the handwriting of John of Berwick. [Here follows an abstract of the "Account," which we print entire at page 63.] The manuscript from which the above information was obtained, which has been carefully preserved in the family, I will leave with you if I should ever be able to visit Boston. We have also the coat of arms of the family of Sullivan, somewhat defaced by age, which was sent from Ireland to my grandfather, which I will leave with you if you have any desire to preserve it. . . . There are, I believe, one or two letters from some of the females of the Sullivan family in

Ireland, in relation to the coat of arms. They are among the papers of my daughter, who died last August. If you would like to have them, they are at your service as soon as we can have an opportunity to examine those papers.

. . . . . .

I am your obed't serv't,

Rich'd Steele.

Letter VIII. — *From Judge John Sullivan, Grandson of General Sullivan.*

Exeter, Apl. 15, 1856.

Thomas C. Amory, Esq.

My dear Sir, — I have recd. and read with much pleasure your letter of the 13th instant; and also a letter from Doctor Steele to you containing a copy of a memorandum of our great-grandfather. I was not aware before that any such memorandum existed. It is very important in tracing the genealogy of the family. I wish you had access to the papers now in the hands of Doctor Steele if there be others in his possession. Probably you would discover among them matter very important to a correct history of the family which he would look upon as valueless. I think the letter of Doctor Steele would be gratifying to Mr. Wells and to my brothers. If you will be good enough to send me some copies of it I will see that they are forwarded to them.

I am, very respectfully and very truly, yours,

Jno. Sullivan.

LETTER IX. — *From Mr. George S. Sullivan, son of Judge John Sullivan, and Great-grandson of General Sullivan.*

GREAT FALLS, July 26th, 1859.

THOMAS C. AMORY, ESQ.

DEAR SIR, — A short time since an oak brace came into my possession, which was one of the original timbers in the barn built by old Master Sullivan. The barn was moved a short distance from its original site, and when I first knew it, it formed part of a tannery. About two years since it was burnt,[1] and nothing now remains of its original timbers save this brace. I had the brace sawed into five or six pieces of a suitable size for canes, though I find that but two or three of the pieces are sound enough to be worked.

One of the best pieces I gave to Father, and thinking that the only piece of wood now in existence which has been worked upon by John of Berwick, our common ancestor, may be more valuable to you than common oak, I have put one piece aside for you, and if you will accept it I will carry it[2] to you the next time I go to Boston.

I am, Sir, very truly yours,

GEO. S. SULLIVAN.

[1] September, 1858.

[2] The cane which Mr. Amory had made from this piece of oak is now owned by Mr. Harcourt Amory.

LETTER X. — *From Samuel Wells, Governor of Maine, Grandson of Mary (Sullivan) Hardy.*

AUGUSTA, Feb. 8, 1856.

THOMAS C. AMORY, JR., ESQ.

DEAR SIR, — On my return home last week, I found your favor of the 26th ult., and have made some additions to the memoranda on the enclosed paper. Those in relation to John of Berwick and his wife were taken from their gravestones, some years since, and I believe are correct.

I have no means of knowing the age of the brothers of my grandmother. It was my intention to have made further inquiries in relation to our ancestors, but my attention has been called to other subjects. I hope I may obtain some more facts to communicate to you.

I am very truly and sincerely your friend,

SAMUEL WELLS.

Paper which had apparently been enclosed in the above Letter.

My knowledge of your Berwick ancestors — John Sullivan and his wife — rests wholly on the accounts given of them by their contemporaries, the old people who survived them. It was said that they both came from Ireland in the same vessel, that she was sold for her passage money, and that he bought her and afterwards married her. What the nature of that purchase was and what rights he obtained by it, I never distinctly understood; at any rate this account was never to my knowledge contradicted.

Mr. Sullivan's occupation was that of a school-teacher, and he was known as "Master Sullivan." The first inti-

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mation I ever had that his education was above the ordinary level of the country schoolmasters of his day was from reading a sermon of the Rev. Mr. Buckminster on the death of the late Governor James Sullivan (your grandfather), in which, if I recollect aright, Master Sullivan is represented as having been well skilled in the Latin and other languages, and as having been the only instructor of his son James. Presuming that Mr. B. derived his knowledge from Governor Sullivan himself, I gave it full credit. One thing is certain, his knowledge of the languages was not called in requisition as a teacher of a public school in Berwick, during his lifetime. There were no private schools there, and there is no reason to suppose that his instructions in the languages extended beyond his own family. Berwick was then a new town, and, up to about the time of the birth of Governor S., was suffering from the depredations of the Indians. The people were poor, and to provide food and raiment, and to secure themselves and their property from the incursions of the savages, was their chief employment. The instruction afforded at the public schools — which were kept open but a small part of the year — did not extend beyond reading, writing, and a knowledge of the first principles of arithmetic, such as are indispensable to every person in order to enable him to conduct the common affairs of life. I can have no doubt that Governor S., at the close of his studies at home, was better educated than any other *native* of Berwick had been up to that period.

The impression I have gathered from the old people respecting Master Sullivan is that he was an amiable and worthy man, wanting in energy, who pursued his humble yet useful occupation giving general satisfaction, a good citizen, and an honest man. Such a man would ordinarily pass away without occasioning any special remarks, and such would probably have been the case with him had it not been that

two of his sons so justly arrived at eminence. The contrast between the humble pretensions of the parents and the honourable distinction of the sons caused a frequent reference to the parents, and made their character, circumstances, and position in life a subject of common conversation and generally known. . . .

Master Sullivan's wife was as well known as he was, and when reference was made to the sons, *she* was more frequently alluded to. It seems that she was but nine years old when she arrived in this country, and it must have been seven or eight years afterwards that he married her. She has been uniformly represented as a woman of considerable native strength of mind, yet entirely uncultivated, having the strong passions common to her countrywomen — of which some are good and some bad — wholly unsubdued by habit. These marked traits of character show a wider contrast between her and her two sons than between them and their father, and furnished a theme for remark, with anecdotes not a few, brought up whenever allusion was made to the family. That she was a masculine energetic woman, with the resolution of a man, there is no doubt. That she performed outdoor labour in the field suitable only to men, in order that her husband might not be diverted from his occupation of teaching, was recently told me as coming from herself in presence of my informant, one of the few who now survive to remember her. That they were poor people, in common with many of their neighbours, this last fact sufficiently indicates, and it is this that reflects the highest honour on the father, who under such circumstances educated the sons, as well as on the sons who availed themselves of the opportunity, and became so justly distinguished in after life.

We have a copy of a letter written from Portsmouth, N. H., July 15th, 1803, by Mr. Henry Sher-

burne Langdon, to Governor Eustis of Massachusetts, who had asked him about "the Sullivan family": —

"The father of Mr. James Sullivan came from Ireland to Old York, where he hired himself out to pay for his passage. After a short tarry at York he went to Berwick; there he continued till his death, keeping school most of the time, but always in very low circumstances.

"Whether his wife came out with him from Ireland or not, I cannot learn; they were both, however, Irish.

"Their children in the early part of their lives had no education but what they received from their parents.

". . . These particulars I had from a Mr. Chadbourne of this town, who is upwards of sixty years of age, was born in Berwick, and went several years to Mr. Sullivan's school; and though he left Berwick at about fourteen years of age and came to this town, yet most of his connections reside at, and he has kept up an almost uninterrupted intercourse in business with, his native place.

"Mr. Chadbourne does not recollect to have heard whether Sullivan used the O in his name while at York, but is very certain he never used it after coming to Berwick."

There is a "Memorandum made about the year 1850," not signed, and in a handwriting which we do not recognize: —

"Whether the first John had any daughters I don't know. None of his children's names appear on the Baptismal Record of the First Church in Berwick, but perhaps they did on the record of the Second Church, formed about 1750, and which was much nearer his residence. It was at this church that James attended when he was at Berwick over the Sabbath. He is said to have been particularly friendly to their minister, Mr. Merriam. It is doubtful if this Church's rec-

ord is in existence. Probably there are not five individuals living who personally knew Master Sullivan, as the first John was called. . . . Master Sullivan was exclusively a school-teacher. If he had considerable learning, it found a poor market in Berwick. The people were in his time poor, and it was only the simplest elements, such as are indispensable to every one, that were taught in the public schools. Private schools were unknown, and so far as I know no native of Berwick up to the time of James Sullivan received so much early instruction as he did."

Mr. Ezra Dean writes to Mr. Amory from Biddeford, Maine, August 24th, 1856: —

"Agreeable to your request, I yesterday called on Capt. Ichabod Jordan, of Saco, who is now eighty-six years old. . . . Capt. Jordan says he can remember perfectly well Mr. [James] Sullivan's residence, or rather when he resided, in Biddeford. . . . He mentioned seeing Mr. S.'s mother, who came down to see him and walked down from Berwick, and that she might not come empty-handed drove a cow before her. This must have been quite an exploit, as the greatest part of the way must have been woods and bad roads and paths. . . . He says she was a woman of great energy and good judgment."

We may add here the one story which Mr. Amory tells us he heard at Berwick. He printed it in the Boston Transcript in the summer of 1882: —

"The circumstances attending the marriage of Master Sullivan and Margaret Browne were related to the present writer and George Sullivan, great-grandson of General Sullivan, more than twenty years ago, by an elderly lady of Berwick. She said that, when a young maiden living with her father

in that same house where we were, the aged couple, our ancestors, overtaken by a storm on their way home from church, came in to make a visit and wait till the storm should abate. The chat taking that direction, Master Sullivan, in the presence of his wife and in that very room where we were seated, gave them an account of his own wooing. He told them that Margaret grew into womanhood with great personal attractions, and that a visitor at his house, after some conversation with her at the well, fascinated by her beauty, expressed his wish to marry her. She reported his proposal to Mr. Sullivan, who, finding that she had no inclination to favor his suit, communicated her decision to her suitor, probably in the kindest manner that he could. He soon afterwards discovered that she would have no objection to become his own wife, and their marriage, to judge from the age of their children, took place about 1735."

One should read, side by side with the letters, James Sullivan's "History of the District of Maine," published at Boston in 1795: —

"The Second Parish in York," he tells us, "is generally called Scotland Parish. In the time of the civil war between Charles and the Parliament, Cromwell gained a victory over the troops which had assembled under the royal standard in the North of England, and, not knowing how to dispose better of his prisoners, he banished them from the realm of England and sent them to America. Among them were the McIntires, the Tuckers, the Maxwells, etc.; these came to Gorges's government because he was a royalist, and settled in what is now the Second Parish in York, from which circumstance the place was called Scotland."

York "in the year 1700 settled the Rev. Samuel Moody as minister. He continued until the year 1747, when he died,

respected by the country and beloved by the people. He had many singularities in his conduct which may serve as curious anecdotes in the present day, but he was a pious and useful man as a gospel minister."

York is bounded northwesterly by Berwick, which was therefore some defence to it against the Indians, although as late as 1746 the York people used to attend public worship with arms in their hands, and in 1750 they still had a picketed fort.

"The settlements at Berwick were several times destroyed by the savages, and the present settlement," James Sullivan says, "may be considered as one recently made. Seventy years ago there were no houses between Quampeagan and Canada."

To this last statement he adds a note, quoting from Judge Chadbourne's manuscript written in 1793 : —

"I am now seventy-five years old, and since I can remember there was no house between mine and Canada."

Judge Chadbourne was the great-grandson of Humphrey Chadbourne, who came over at the invitation of Gorges and Mason in 1636, and made, in 1646, the first purchase ever made in New England of land from the Indians. He bought a tract at Quampeagan, which was afterwards included in the town of Berwick.

"By 1723," James Sullivan tells us, "Berwick had become a very considerable plantation with several forts and fortified houses extending itself above York towards the wilderness. . . . All the houses which were built there between the year

1690 and 1745 were of hewed logs sufficient to oppose the force of small arms. . . .

"The inhabitants of the town of Berwick have been very careful in supporting grammar and other schools. The Rev. James Pike, who was the first minister of the town of Sommersworth in New Hampshire, and who died since the year 1790 aged ninety-two years, was the first grammar schoolmaster of Berwick. There is an academy lately established in the town."

The minister at Berwick from 1707 to 1756 was the Rev. Jeremiah Wise, —

"A man," James Sullivan writes, "of eminent piety and goodness. The learning in which he made great proficiency was of a kind suited to the age in which he lived, and like that of the Mathers and other great men partook more of the scholastic modes than of the belle letters or of philosophy. . . . In the year 1751 the town was divided into two parishes. In the second, John Morse, a valuable and pious young man, was settled, but died early in life. His successor was the Rev. Mr. Meriam, who is the minister there at this day. There are two small Baptist and one Quaker society in the town. There are no other religious persuasion or denomination of Christians."

The principal inhabitants of Berwick about the time it was incorporated, 1713, were "the Chadbournes, the Lords, Goodwins, Gerishes, Keys, Smiths, Spencers, Shoreys, Prays, Plaisteds, Hills, Abbots, etc." The list may serve very well to suggest for us who were John Sullivan's neighbours there, ten or twenty years later. We have already seen in the letters that a Chadbourne was one of his pupils, and we shall pres-

ently find that in 1753 Samuel Lord's land bordered on his. Before examining the older documents, however, let us see what the letters as we have read them make us understand. Their story is briefly this.

The Berwick farmer and schoolmaster had come to New England from Ireland, a man over thirty years of age, about 1723. He came as a "redemptioner," a person, that is, who did not pay his passage before sailing, but had made an engagement to do work equivalent to the payment after he landed. His engagement is said to have been with one Nowell of Newburyport. It may be noted that the letter from Ardea in 1796 was directed to Newburyport. We shall hazard the guess that Nowell made a business of providing labourers for the farmers in this way. One of Sullivan's fellow passengers was a little girl of nine years old who was also a redemptioner. When the ship arrived, — it is said that it was driven by stress of weather into York harbour, — Sullivan and this child were both sent to work for one of the McIntires, who had a farm at "Scotland," York. John Sullivan, "averse to bodily exertion," remembered that he was also "an excellent scholar," and wrote a letter in seven languages to the minister of the town, the Rev. Samuel Moody. Scotland had not yet been made a parish by itself. Mr. Moody lent our ancestor money to pay his debt, and obtained for him, one story says, the post of grammar-school master at Berwick. At any rate he set him free to work for himself. Land was not hard to get in those days, and Dr. Belknap, in his "History of New Hampshire," says that a man's own labour

during his sons' childhood would bring him to a position to help the elder ones to farms of their own, reserving the home farm for the youngest, who was expected to maintain his parents there as long as they lived. The lumber trade was Berwick's first interest. James Sullivan mentions prosperous saw-mills in 1795 at the Great Fall, as well as four miles farther down at Quampeagan, where was the "Great Landing Place," to which "immense quantities of lumber are rafted or carried in scows." John Sullivan settled at the Great Fall, where the river — the Newichawannock, or Salmon Fall — makes a descent of one hundred feet in three stairs or precipices. It is not said in exactly what year he began to teach. Mr. Pike, "the first grammar schoolmaster of Berwick," was called as minister to Somersworth in 1730, and it may have been only then that John Sullivan took his place. Beside farm-work and school-teaching John Sullivan had a third resource, the writing of deeds, which brought him it seems ten shillings apiece. He made money enough at some time to pay his debt to Dr. Moody, and to ransom from the York farmhouse while she was still a child his little fellow redemptioner, Margery Brown, taking the charge of her on himself. Judge Sullivan alleges his never having seen her until they met on board ship as proof that he could not have paid her passage, but the one fact, as we have seen, does not exclude the other. There is a story — which we will merely mention as we cannot at this moment find where we read it, and are not sure that it is authentic — of John Sullivan as an old man playfully rebuking his wife for impatience

with a neighbour who wanted to borrow some of her household goods, by reminding her that he had once bought her.

Their being "warned out of town" need not imply any very abject degree of poverty on their part. Stearns's "History of Rindge" explains that it was the practice in all the towns to warn out new arrivals as a safeguard against such persons obtaining a legal settlement.

"In case any of the inhabitants, upon whom a warrant to depart had been legally served, became needy, the town from which they had removed was chargeable for their support. For many years nearly all who removed hither [to Rindge], without regard to their social or financial standing, were warned out. . . . It was not expected that they would go, and in a majority of cases it was ardently hoped that they would not."

Mr. Stearns gives one of the warrants, dated 1773, from the Rindge selectmen to the constable, naming "Sundry Persons of late come into this Town," and requiring him "in his Majesty's name to Notify and Warn all and each of said Persons to Depart out of this Town, as they will answer there Contempt under y^{e} Penalty of y^{e} Law." And the constable's return ran: "In obedience to the within warrant I have warned all and each of the within mentioned persons forthwith to Depart out of this Town as the Law directs." John and Margery did not depart, neither did they become paupers. They were married not later than 1736.

There were no Roman Catholic priests in Maine at

that time. Several emigrant branches of Irish families are said to have drifted, in consequence, away from the Church in which they had been born. The Congregational Church seems to have been almost as much the State as it had been in Puritan Massachusetts. Mr. Amory, however, says,[1] that John Sullivan did not attend its services in his neighbourhood; and his children's names are not found in the baptismal record of the First Church in Berwick. The two younger ones were born after the forming of the Second Parish, whose records are not known to be extant; but the four elder sons might be expected to appear in the books of the First Church, as they are said to have been born at Berwick between 1736 and 1745. As they do not so appear, it may be that their parents held aloof from all religious observances; but there is another possible explanation which seems to us worth suggesting, although some one more familiar than we are with the history and geography of the district may be able to show that we are wrong.

The two oldest original documents which we have (one by John Sullivan, 1737, the other by Margery, 1743) are dated from Somersworth, New Hampshire, — "the parish of Somersworth, in the Town of Dover, in his Majesty's Province of New Hampshire." Somersworth is on the Newichawannock, just opposite Berwick. It was settled, we are told,[2] "probably about 1630, in the part adjoining the Salmon Falls in the

[1] Life of James Sullivan, Vol. I. p. 14.

[2] Coolidge and Mansfield's History and Description of New England: Maine. Boston, 1859, p. 648.

river Newichawannock in connection with the settlements on the Maine side." The boundary between New Hampshire and Maine was not settled until 1741. There had been ten years' disputing before about it, and about the other lines of New Hampshire. This State claimed the whole width of the Newichawannock. Massachusetts wished to grant her only to the middle of the stream. Somersworth was made a parish in 1729, until which time her people had been obliged to travel from two to five miles when they went to church. The First Church at Berwick was not near John Sullivan's farm. Putting all these fragments of fact together, may we not shape a fair hypothesis that the Sullivans found it easiest to cross the river to church, — that their children's names, therefore, were entered in the books of the Somersworth parish, — that the Newichawannock did not seem necessarily a town limit, but might be accounted merely a river in a town, — and that the settlements on both its banks at that point were commonly included in the name of the parish of Somersworth? Berwick's first grammar-school master, we may note again, became the first minister of Somersworth.

One of these two oldest documents of which we speak is a deed, dated January 10, 1737–8, conveying from Tebbets to Tebbets land "in the parish of Summersworth, in the town of Dover, in his Majesty's Province of New Hampshire in New England." It is drawn and witnessed by John Sullivan. The other is not, we regret to say, Margery's autograph. It is an advertisement printed in the "Boston Evening Post"

for July 25, 1743. The Massachusetts Historical Society has a bound volume of the paper which contains this number. The "Post" was a single leaf, eighteen by sixteen inches, with two columns to a page. It was published weekly by "T. Fleet, at the Heart and Crown in Cornhill,[1] where Advertisements are taken in at a moderate Price." It began, on this Monday, July 25, with nearly two columns about the battle of Carthagena, reprinted from the "Gentleman's Magazine." Then came a paragraph of "Advices from Germany," and one headed "America," giving a brief notice of the wreck of the "Princess Louisa" near the Isle of May, her captain and some of her crew having been brought into the James River, Virginia, by the "Snow Betty." This ending the first page, the first column of the second page had shipping news, with a warning against a certain "notorious Tom Bell," reported to have left Long Island for Boston. Two thirds down the column stood the word "Advertisements," followed first by the thirty-two lines which we here transcribe. The quotation marks were, as we give them, at every line, and we omit nothing.

From the Boston Evening Post, No. 416.
Monday, July 25, 1743.

"ADVERTISEMENTS.

"*My dear and loving Husband*, — Your abrupt Departure
"from me, and forsaking of me your Wife and tender Babes,
"which I now humbly acknowledge and confess I was greatly

[1] Cornhill was at that time the name of Washington Street between School Street and Dock Square.

" if not wholly the Occasion of, by my too raſh and unadvised
" Speech and Behaviour towards you; for which I now in
" this publick Manner humbly aſk your Forgiveness, and here-
" by promise upon your Return, to amend and reform, and by
" my future loving and obedient Carriage towards you, en-
" deavour to make an Atonement for my past evil Deeds,
" and manifest to you and the whole World that I am become
" a new Woman, and will prove to you a loving dutiful and
" tender wife. If you do not regard what I have above writ-
" ten, I pray you to hearken to what your Pupil, Joshua Gil-
" patrick hath below sent you, as also to the Lamentations
" and Cries of your poor Children, especially the eldest, who
" (tho' but seven Years old) all rational People really con-
" clude, that unless you speedily return will end in his Death,
" and the moans of your other Children are enough to affect
" any humane heart. . . . And why, *my dear Huſband*, should
" a few angry and unkind Words, from an angry and fretful
" Wife (for which I am now paying full dear, having neither
" eat, drank nor slept in quiet, and am already reduced al-
" most to a Skeleton, that unless you favour me with your
" Company, will bereave me of my Life) make you thus to
" forsake me and your Children? How can you thus for so
" ſlender a Cause as a few raſh words from a ſimple and weak
" Woman, chuſe you to part from your tender Babes, who are
" your own Flesh and Blood? Pray meditate on what I now
" ſend, and reprieve your poor Wife and eldest Son (who take
" your Departure so heavily) from a lingering tho' certain
" Death, by your coming home to them again as ſpeedily as
" you can, where you ſhall be kindly received, and in the
" most ſubmissive Manner by your Wife, who is ready at your
" Desire, to lay her ſelf at your Feet for her paſt Miſcarriage
" and am with my and your Children's kind Love to you,
" your loving Wife

Margery Sullivan.

" Summerſworth, New-Hampshire. July 11, 1743."

The rest of this number of the Post, rather more than a column, is all advertisements: — for the Innholders to come and pay their Excise; for "an escaped Negro fellow — lusty stout and comely, — belonging to Mr. James Griffin, merchant in Boston"; of Coal to sell; of "the best Raisins of the Sun for Two Shillings by the Single Pound"; of "A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Joshua Gee," this day "published and sold by Samuel Eliot in Cornhill," etc. "What Joshua Gilpatrick hath below sent you" does not appear anywhere. We have no tradition about Margery's letter, and no means of knowing how long her husband left her to consider herself the sole protection for her three babes against starvation and the Indians. Her apology had been written a fortnight before it got into print. We find no mention of it in the correspondence with Mr. Amory, but it harmonizes perfectly with what we are there told of Margery, the small, beautiful, energetic, courageous woman, who worked in the fields that her "thoughtful and studious" husband might not be obliged to do it; who drove the cow some thirty miles through woods and along bad roads for a present to her son; who nursed the neighbours when they were ill, and quarrelled with them, possibly, when they were well; who gloried in her sons' careers, and boasted, when an old woman and a widow, that she "never did anything contrary to the will of her husband: he was her father in age, her master in knowledge, and her husband by marriage." Some of these facts he probably remembered when he read her advertisement. He came home, and the next thing we have is a page copied

from the Account Book of Samuel Bracket, who appears to have been a "trader," as the keeper of a country "store" was then called: —

1751.	the account of Mr. John Solevent	Dr.
		old tenner.
	to a low Chear	1 0 0
	to a hankchref	0 14 0
1752.	to a grate chear	2 0 0
Dec.	to a Lume	15 0 0
1754	July ye 13 to a set of warping spuls	01 11 0
	silver currency	
	and cash old tenner	00 09 0
		20 14 0
	October ye 10th: to 2 ounces of Judge 28 f. and Lume Irons 20 f. and a Cheare 20 f. and Cash 20 f. and 8 f. in Laber	4 16 0
		25 10 0

Credit to Mr Soleven. old tenner	Cr.
By writing 2 Deeds and one bond 10 f. each	1 10 0
By an order to the town treasurer old tener	15 00 0
By for an order to the town treasurer	01 00 0
By an oak Log	01 00 0
July ye 9/1754 By a Jurney to York	02 00 0
	20 10 0
the order to the treasurer was Silver Currency which is called as Good as 20 of new hampshair and requires an addition of five pounds	5 00 0
	25 10 0

October ye 10th/1754 then reckend with Mr. John Solovan and
Balanced all accounts.

The North Parish in Berwick was formed in 1749, Samuel Bracket, Junior, being elected Parish Clerk, an office which he held for many years. We have memoranda copied from the records made by him, which with his own business accounts and many other papers of the period were, when the copy was made in 1874, "in the possession of Mr. James G. Bracket of Biddeford, a lineal descendant." From these it appears that "John Sulvan" was one of thirty-nine freeholders and other inhabitants of the North Parish in Berwick who signed a Petition to Governor Shirley, April 8th, 1754, "for an Enabling Act to choose Parish Officers. Petition granted in Council, April 17th, 1754. House concurred, April 18th, 1754."

Mr. Wm. P. Haines, of Biddeford, in forwarding the above copies to Mr. Amory, Aug. 26, 1874, writes: —

"I enclose for your inspection and to be returned to me — to be then deposited in the York Institute at Saco among the Memorabilia of our York County worthies — the following papers, viz.: —

"1. A Bond written and witnessed by John Sullivan, dated March 2nd, 1750.

"2. An original letter from the same to Samuel Bracket and the Committee of the North Parish of Berwick, dated Dec. 13th, 1759.

"3. An order to John Sullivan, Jun. (written by him), concerning his pew in the Meeting-House of the North Parish.

"4. Report of a Committee of the North Parish written and signed by John Sullivan, Jr., one of the Committee, dated February 2nd, 1762.

"5. A Power of Attorney written and witnessed by Ebenezer Sullivan."

We have also a copy of a paper which reads: —

"Berwick, Jany. 23rd, 1753. At the request of Mr. Samuel Lord I have renewed the bounds of one hundred and forty acres of land at the Great Falls so called, above the Salmon Falls, according to the return of the former laying out. I have set off forty acres of said land unto Mr. John Sullivan upon the north side of said bounds. Said forty acres is bounded beginning at a white pine tree being the northeast corner of said hundred and forty acres, and from said pine-tree running south west by south two hundred and twenty seven rods, then south east by east twenty eight poles and one third of a pole, then north east by north by the remaining part of said land until it comes to the head line of said lot to a hemlock tree marked on four sides, then from said hemlock tree north west by west twenty eight rods and one third of a rod to the pine tree first mentioned. The above said bounds renewed and the said forty acres set off to Mr. John Sullivan as above said by me Moses Butler, Surveyor.

"The above bounds renewed and the above said forty acres set off to Mr. John Sullivan being consented to by us the said Sullivan and Lord as witness our hands the day above said. And we the said Samuel Lord and John Sullivan further agree that as many rods of fence as said Samuel Lord shall make upon the line at the west end of the divisional line between them, the said John Sullivan hereby engages to make as many rods at the east end of the said divisional line against his the said Sullivan's field. The said agreement further consented to as above described. Witness our hands the day above said.

"Witnesses present.

Moses Butler.
John Lord, Jr.
Ezekiel Wentworth.
Benjamin Sullivan.

Samuel his × mark Lord.

John Sullivan."

The witness Benjamin Sullivan was very likely the eldest child, whom Margery mentions in 1743 as being but seven years old. He went to sea, and died before the Revolution, according to Mr. McIntire of York, at New York; according to Judge Sullivan of Exeter, the vessel in which he sailed was never heard from after she left port. If she was a man of war, there would be some official record of her loss. Otherwise, we can find no date for this event.

Before 1762, we learn from Mr. John S. Emery, Daniel, the second son, who had married in 1758 and soon lost both wife and child, had removed to New Bristol, now Sullivan, Maine. His second marriage was in 1765. One of the copies from the Bracket papers refers to him, and has too much colour of the place and time to be omitted.

"Page 3 of 'Book of Accounts of Samel Bracket, Junr, with the Committee of the Parish,' contains the following: —

"December 14/1761, then Discounted with Daniel Sullivan the sum of five pounds fourteen shillings on account of his pue. 5 14 0

By order of Thomas Shorey a Committee man.

"Page 12. — June the 20/1759, received of Daniel Sullivan on the account of the parish thirty shillings recd. per me Samll Bracket 0 30 0

"Page 15. — July the first, 1761. then discounted with John Sullivan Jr. the sum of four pounds fifteen shillings and sixpence. 4 15 6

By order of Thomas Shorey a Committee man.

"Page 16. — february the 20/1761, reed of Daniel Suliven on account of the parish the sum of thirty six shillings. 1 16 0

Reed. p. me Sam'll Bracket.

"Page 18. — June ye 30/1761, then reed of John Sulivan Jr. fifty two shillings and sixpence on a Count of his pue pr me Samll Bracket. 2 12 6

"Page 21. — May th8, 1759, the Pues drawn by the men after named are these

by Daniel Sullavin, No. 1, priee 9 18 6

by Mr. John Sullevin Jr., No. 23, priee 7 8 0

"Page 24. — July ye 1/1762, to a Day to portsmouth myself and horse to send to boston for execution against Daniel Suleven 0 5 0

to money paid the post for bringing execution 0 4 6

July ye 8th, to one day to portsmouth to fetch execuion 0 3 4

to a half a day to the Justes of the peace to take the oath required to take out execution 20d. and his fee 18d. and writing to ye elerk 0 3 2

"Page 33. — May the 15/1762, then Discounted with Daniel Sullivan six shillings by order of Joseph Rieker and others the Committee 0 6 0

"Page 34. — May the 15/1762, then reed of Daniel Sulleven by the hand of John Sulliven Jr. twelve shillings and six pence on a Count of his pue it being in full 0 12 6

for payment

"Page 34. — Sept. ye first 1762 then reed of Nathan Lord Jr. Deputy Shreff the sum of five

pounds fourteen shillings in full of payment for 5 14 0
a pue in the North Meeting house in Berwick
Drawn by Daniel Sulleven No. first."

The third son, John, had married and was in practice as a lawyer at Durham, New Hampshire, when he made with his father the following agreement: —

"This Indenture of Agreement made & Concluded on the Twelfth Day of February Anno Domini 1765 by & between John Sullivan of Berwick in the County of York and Province of the Massachusetts Bay Schoolmaster of the one part & John Sullivan Jr. of Durham in the Province of New Hampshire Gentleman of the other Part Witnesseth that the said John Sullivan Senior Doth For & in Consideration of the Rents, Covenants, Services & agreements herein after mentioned by the said John Sullivan jun^r To be Done, paid, Fulfilled, performed & Kept Lease & unto Farm let to the said John Sullivan jun^r & his assigns For & During the natural life of him the said John Sullivan Senior a messuage & Lands in Berwick afor^d Containing near Seventy Seven acres more or Less being the Homestead of him the said John Sullivan Senior in Berwick aforesaid & is bounded Northwesterly by Lands of Isaac Hanson & Moses Wentworth Northeasterly by Lands of Ebenezer Lord in part & partly by a High Way Southeasterly by Lands of said Lord & Southwesterly by Salmon Fall River. To have and to hold the said messuage & Tenement To him the said John Sullivan jr. & his assigns for & During the natural Life of him the said John Sullivan Senior In Consideration whereof the said John Sullivan Jun^r Doth Covenant promise & agree to & with the said John Sullivan Senior his heirs & assigns To Cultivate & Improve the said Farm in a husbandmanlike manner or cause the same to be Done & to pay & Deliver the one half of the produce of the same Farm to the said John

Sullivan Senior or his assigns yearly & every year During the term aforesaid if they shall yearly require the same & to pay all the Debts now Due from the said John Sullivan Senior To any person or persons whatsoever when the same shall be Required, & to Fit & Repair the House now standing on said Farm so as to make the same Comfortable to Live in as soon as may be & To permit & suffer the said John Sullivan Sen^{r} & his Wife & Family to Live in & Enjoy said House During the term aforesaid without any molestation of him the said John Sullivan J^{r}. & if the half of the produce of said Farm should not be sufficient to support the said John Sullivan senior & his Family in Necessary Food & Apparel then the said John Sullivan jun^{r} is at his own proper Cost & Charge to provide the same for them but if it should be more than is sufficient to answer the purposes afore^{d} then the Remainder thereof is to be at the Disposal of the said John Sullivan jun^{r} And in Consideration that the said John Sullivan Sen^{r} hath by Deed under his hand & Seal Conveyed the said messuage & tenement to the said John Sullivan jun^{r} his heirs & assigns in Fee & now holdeth the same by Lease from the said John Sullivan jun^{r} for term of the natural life of him the said John Sullivan Sen^{r} under whom the said John Sullivan jr. is to Improve (the same) by [MS. cut off.]

[MS. cut off.] as lessee to & under the said John said John Sullivan junior Doth that in case the said John Sullivan

[2d page.] ng his present wife his widow That if she shall then Choose Rather To have a Competent maintenance allowed her During her Remaining his widow than to Improve her Dower or Thirds to said Estate then the said John Sullivan jun^{r} shall provide such support & maintenance for her as shall yearly be adjudged Reasonable by three Indifferent & Discreet persons To be Chosen by the parties for that purpose During her widowhood as aforesaid & Furthermore the said John Sullivan Junior Doth Covenant & agree to Take with him his Brother James Sullivan as soon as he

shall be able to walk or Ride & find him in victuals, Wasing, Lodging & Apparel & keep him with him untill he shall Instruct him in the Art & Science of Law & Qualify him for being sworn as an Attorney at Law & Then To furnish him with some necessary Books of Forms & pleadings —— provided the said James shall faithfully abide with him untill he is sworn as aforesaid, which shall be Done as soon as may be And also To Take under his Care & Direction his other Brother Ebenezer & permit & suffer him to Tarry with his Father upon said Farm untill he arrive to Seventeen years of age & then To Give him such Learning as will Qualify him for an apprentice To a Physician (if his Capacity will attain thereto) & then To Provide a place where he may serve with some skilful Physician untill he shall be capable of practising Physick & all the Cost & Charge of said Education shall be born & paid by the said John Sullivan junr. And the said John Sullivan junr Doth Further Covenant & agree To find his sister Mary in Necessary Apparel, victuals, &c. During her Remaining Single provided she will Tarry with her said Father & Mother During her Remaining a Feme Sole and at the time of her Marriage the said John Sullivan Jr. shall Furnish her with one Bed & Bedding, two tables, one Dozen of Chairs Two pots a Chest of Draws two Good Suits of Apparel one Dozen of Pewter plates, Six pewter platters & one Cow In Consideration of all which Covenants the said John Sullivan Senior Doth Covenant & agree to Leave all the personal Estate he is now possessed to the said John Sullivan junr his heirs & assigns forever he having the use thereof himself During his Life & to suffer all such hands as the said John Sullivan junr shall employ To work on said Farm to Dress victuals & Lodge in said House while they are at work on said Farm In Testimony whereof & for the True performance of all & Every of the articles covenants & agreements aforesaid The parties aforesaid Bind themselves Each to the other in the penal sum of Two thousand pounds Lawful money In witness whereof the parties aforesaid have hereunto

Interchangeably set their hands & seals the Twelfth signed seal[d], & Delivered
In presence of
JONA HAMILTON.
SAMUEL LORD TERSUS.

[MS. cut off.]

[3d page.]

I John Sullivan Senior within mentioned hereby acknowledge that the within mentioned John Sullivan Jr. hath well & faithfully performed the within and foregoing Covenants so far as Respects my son James Sullivan & Daughter Mary (now Mary Hardy) in Consideration whereof & Five Shillings to me in hand by him paid, I hereby forever Release & Discharge him from the foregoing Covenants so far as Respects the said James & Mary. And as to so much of the within Covenants as Respects the said John Sullivan Jun[r] Taking Care of Educating bringing up & providing for my son Ebenezer I hereby acknowledge that the said John Sullivan jun[r] hath taken all possible pains to perform & fulfil the same. But after taking great pains & being at great Trouble & Expense found it Impracticable owing to the said Ebenezer's Inclinations and Genius Leading him to a Different Course & manner of Life wherefore In Consideration of the pains Trouble & Expense the said John Sullivan Jun[r] hath had and been at and in consideration of five Shillings to me in hand paid by him I hereby forever Release & Discharge him from the within Covenants so far as Respects the said Ebenezer. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & seal, Jan[y] 30th, 1773.

Signed, Sealed, & Delivered } JOHN SULLIVAN J[R]. SEAL.
In presence of }

The word (forever) Interlined before signing.

STEPHEN NOBLE.
. . . . SULLIVAN.

[Indorsed:] "Sullivan & Sullivan, Covenants."

From the original of the above paper the first signatures of the parties have been cut; the release, which is on the third page of the sheet, is signed in much paler ink than the body of the writing, and the second witness's name is not only pale, but so badly written as to be scarcely at all decipherable. The surname is Sullivan, the Christian name possibly intended for Margery.

John Sullivan lived after the conclusion of this affair for at least twenty-two years. The part his sons took in the Revolution[1] during that time is fully recounted in Mr. Amory's biographies of John and James, which include sketches of Daniel and Ebenezer. Mr. Amory's pamphlets in defence of John against Mr. Bancroft — whose History has been so warmly disputed by descendants of several Revolutionary officers and by other authorities — give the story of Daniel's capture and imprisonment, and of the visits which he was allowed, before his release, to make to his brother John at Philadelphia. But we shall make room here for a part of the same story as told in an interesting letter from Mr. Hiram Emery, who married Daniel's granddaughter.

[1] Four volumes of the correspondence of Major General John Sullivan, — the original manuscripts, — including letters from Washington and other distinguished men of the Revolution, were presented by Mr. Amory's executor, with conditions, to the New Hampshire Historical Society at Portsmouth, N. H. This was done in accordance with a known intention of Mr. Amory's. Dr. Richard Steele, from whom he obtained the volumes, wished their final disposition to be of this kind.

Sullivan, March 23, 1856.

Thomas C. Amory, Jr., Esq.

Dear Sir, — Yours of March 8th was duly received. I suppose you have a statement from Mrs. Mary Simpson, of Belfast, in relation to her Father, Capt. Daniel Sullivan. I have made researches for records, etc. of the family and can find none. Probably if they had records they were destroyed when Capt. Sullivan was taken prisoner and his house burnt by the enemy. Capt. D. Sullivan was a stanch Whig of '74. He commanded a Company of Militia and volunteers as early as '76 or '77 for the defence of the place. He and his company were at the dépôt at Bigaduce (now Castine) in '79. He was a great thorn to the Tories at that time ; he frequently disarmed them. This so exasperated them that they complained to the British Commander at Bigaduce. He accordingly despatched a British sloop of war to our bay, under the command of Mowet of detested memory. He arrived in the bay, February 21st, 1780, and landed at Mount Desert P. M., took Capt. Ezea Young a prisoner and killed four of his oxen, cut them into quarters, plundered his house, and went on board the ship about twelve o'clock. They landed at Sullivan then, and immediately broke into the house and made Capt. Sullivan a prisoner. They then broke open his desk and threw his books and papers on the floor, and collected all the beds and bedding in one room. The feather beds and bedding they intended to take on board the ship. Mrs. Sullivan expostulated with the officer for taking her beds and bedding from her and her children. The officer

in reply said she might have one bed and bedding. Her eldest daughter Rachel, fourteen years old, spread a blanket and took two feather beds and some bedding. One of the soldiers told the officer, "You told that Rebel-birth she might have one bed and she has got two." The officer replied, "I see it, and she shall have them if she can carry them." She accordingly shouldered her beds and carried them out of the house. They then set fire to the straw beds and the house was soon wrapped in flames. At the same time another party set fire to John Bean's house, which was soon in flames, and they proceeded with their prisoner and plunder on board the ship. Mrs. Sullivan with her five children went to fish house near, the shed containing an old boat. She made up a bed in the boat and stowed the children in it. At daylight she repaired to her connections. The next spring they built a house with the assistance of connections, etc., and moved into it. In two or three days the ship sailed for Bigaduce. Capt. Sullivan and Capt. Young were told by British authorities if they would sign a [word illegible] to not take up arms during the war they might go home. Capt. Young did [word illegible] himself, but Capt. Sullivan would not. He was sent from Castine to Halifax, N. S., and from there he was sent to New York and put on board the Jersey guardship (a floating hell). He remained there about six months and was exchanged and went on board a [word illegible] to come home, and died on his passage down the Sound. The nature of his death indicated that he was poisoned before leaving the prison-ship. These

facts I have had from Hannah Simpson and Lydia Sullivan, daughters of Capt. D. Sullivan, many years ago. I think the Simpsons of Belfast will agree with this. If they conflict, you must reconcile them the best you can.

Respectfully yours,

HIRAM EMERY.

N. B.—John White, a boy seven years old that lived with Capt. Sullivan after the house was on fire, ran a mile to the house of John Howard, with nothing on him but his shirt. The next day his tracks were marked with blood in the crust.

The following is a copy of an unsigned paper: —

"Mary Sullivan, the daughter of John Sullivan, was married to Theophilus Hardy. She was born in Berwick, Maine, where her father resided, and was his only daughter. She was brought up on her father's farm, and, with her brothers who were afterwards so much distinguished, received her education principally from her father. After her marriage she and her husband resided in the town of Durham, N. H., in the vicinity of her brother, General John Sullivan. During the Revolution her husband sold his property and received in payment Continental money, by the depreciation of which they lost nearly all they had. But they met their hard fortune with fortitude, and supported themselves by untiring industry.

"Mrs. Hardy possessed a mind of uncommon strength, clear, discriminating, and logical. It was well cultivated and stored with knowledge of the world and of human nature. Her strong understanding led her to discuss and decide questions which would ordinarily be considered difficult of solution.

She had the power, in a great degree, of communicating her views and thoughts. No one could more effectually teach and instruct others as far as her information extended. Her stature was large, and in her person she was dignified and commanding. She brought up a family of two sons and three daughters, and from them have sprung many descendants.

"After having experienced the usual vicissitudes of life, its joys and sorrows, in 1827, at the age of seventy-five years, she departed to a better world."

Of John Sullivan's own life after 1762 few details are told us. Some neighbour spoke of having seen him, when she was one day at his house, a venerable old man, in a dressing-gown, seated by the table reading the Bible.[1] He wore his white hair long on his shoulders, and looked like a portrait of the Man of Ross which Thomas Brattle gave to James Sullivan, and which is still, we believe, in the possession of one of James's descendants. It must have been before the war that Master Sullivan, at the age of eighty, surprised his son John by his rapid acquirement of French. He had probably once known it in his youth, if he really wrote his letter to Dr. Moody in seven languages. Another story is of his son James, on circuit in Maine, coming to pass the night at Berwick, having arranged to continue his journey the next morning before any one else would be up. He passed the evening in conversation with his father, and the argument waxed hot before they parted. James, riding away in the early morning, reflected, and coming to the conclusion that he had

[1] See Life of James Sullivan, Vol. I. p. 14.

been disrespectful in his vehemence, rode back several miles to beg his father's pardon. It is a pity we do not know what the conversation was about. On politics, on religion, on his own history, what John Sullivan felt strongly we should like of all things to find out.

His dislike of hard work is not apparent in the stories of his vigorous old age. Riding thirty miles a day after he is a hundred, — cutting wood and making fires, yoking his oxen and driving them a mile to be shod and back again, unyoking them, all without assistance and after he is a hundred and two, — must imply a life of activity before.

There are two dates given for his death. The gravestone at Berwick says 1796, and Mrs. Rodgers (Ebenezer's daughter Margery, who was with her grandfather in the last months of his life) said the same. But she said it fifty years after, and no doubt as much from her memory of the stone as from her memory of the fact. We cannot but take as final authority the following paper, from which Mr. Amory quoted in print in 1865: —

In a volume of the Oracle of the Day, 1794 @ 1795, — printed at Portsmouth, N. H., by Charles Peirce, — now in possession of Charles W. Brewster, of the Portsmouth Journal, is the following

"COMMUNICATION.

Died — at Berwick, on Saturday the twentieth day of June instant Mr. John Sullivan of that town, Schoolmaster, aged One Hundred and Five years and three days.

"This respected and extraordinary character was born in

the village of Ardea in the County of Kerry and Kingdom of Ireland. He arrived in this country when he was forty-one years of age, from which time till he was ninety he was most part of his time employed in teaching public and private schools; and perhaps but few persons ever diffused so much useful learning. At this advanced age he retired lamenting that he could no longer be beneficial to mankind. He still continued his studies, and, what is very extraordinary at this advanced stage in life, he undertook to learn the French language; and though he had never before had any acquaintance with that tongue, by close study he acquired such a knowledge of the language as to be able to construe and write it with tolerable accuracy. He wrote a good hand till he was one hundred and two, when his nerves failed him; from this time his chief amusement was confined to reading, till he was nearly one hundred and four, at which time he almost totally lost his eye-sight; this he called the most afflicting stroke he ever met with. Worn down with the weight of years and cut off from his favourite amusement he seemed desirous to meet his approaching dissolution. He was a stranger to pain till a few months before his death, from which time he was considerably afflicted with swellings, attended with grievous pains, which he bore with becoming resignation; giving such evidence to all he conversed with of his firm belief in the Christian religion, and such confidence in a well-grounded hope of future happiness, as made his transit appear more to be wished than dreaded. He continued to converse sensibly till seven days before his death, when his speech failed him: after this he seemed to take but little notice of anything that passed, in an apparent state of devotion, buoyed up above every fear and apparently insensible to pain, he met the king of terrors with a fortitude that must have appeared surprising to a person who had not experienced the happiness of a well-grounded hope. Apparently sensible to the last moment, he closed his eyes without a sigh or a groan.

"His integrity and uprightness in his dealings, his benevolence and hospitality to all, together with his instructive conversation and desire to be useful to mankind, insured him the veneration and esteem of all that knew him.

"His family had been numerous, but he had often been called from the house of mourning to the house of silence. His surviving offspring are two sons and one daughter; twenty-six grandchildren, and twelve great-grandchildren.

"He has also left an ancient disconsolate widow to lament him on a foreign land, she also being a native of Ireland.

'He leaves this earth for heaven's unmeasur'd space.
Ye seraphs guard, ye holy saints give place.
To your abode he wings his rapid flight,
And sails to bliss through gilded seas of light.
The spirit gone to dwell among the just,
The lifeless carcase seeks its kindred dust,
In awful pomp behold the corpse appear,
And silver hairs attending on the bier.
Solemn and sad they slowly move along,
With tottering steps before the moving throng.
Ye holy souls who dwell among the just,
And in the grave repose your weary dust,
Behold he comes to join you in the tomb,
Edge close and give benev'lent dust full room.'

"Berwick, June 27th, 1795."

The manuscript from which the above is transcribed bears no date or name to show when or by whom its copy from the "Oracle" was made. But it is written with evident care, and we have no reason to think that we may not argue from it as confidently as if we had the original newspaper at hand. It tells us positively that John Sullivan died June 20th, 1795. The statement was in print before the end of the year, probably

before the end of the month, since the phrase was allowed to stand "twentieth day of June *instant*." It was not until six years later — after his mother's death in 1801 — that James Sullivan put up the stone to his parents' memory at their burial-place on the Berwick farm.

There is a like dispute about the age at which Master Sullivan died. The "Oracle of the Day" gives it with great particularity as one hundred and five years and three days, which would make the birthday June 17, 1690. Mrs. Rodgers also implies that the birthday was in June, saying that his age when he died was one hundred and four years, eleven months, and that he died in May. "The journal," writes Mr. J. Wingate Thornton,[1] "of Thomas Paine, an itinerant schoolmaster in New Hampshire and Maine, under date Oct. 16, 1792, says, 'After visiting the very aged Mr. John Sullivan, (who by-the-by is upwards of one hundred years old,) and several others of Mrs. Ladd's customers, I return to Dover.'" The gravestone says John Sullivan was born in 1692.

Margery, whom a neighbour reports as saying that her husband was "her father in age," was, according to the gravestone, born in 1714. The only differing statement on this point is by Mrs. Rodgers, who makes her ninety-six when she died, in 1801, giving 1705 as the year of her birth.

The date of the emigration is also uncertain. The letter of 1796 (page 61) demands no more than that it should have been before 1736; the ages of the

[1] Letter to Mr. Amory, 1873.

children put even the marriage a year or two earlier than this; Knapp's "Lives of Eminent Statesmen" says that James Sullivan's father came from Ireland about the year 1723; Brewster's "Rambles about Portsmouth" says, "as early as 1723."

The gravestone says he was born at Limerick; Mrs. Rogers, perhaps not deliberately, puts it at Dublin; the "Oracle," at Ardea. Mr. Amory has more than once, in print, said, at Ardea, although we know that he sometimes inclined to Limerick, supposing that Major Philip may have been there with his family during the final siege, and may thence have followed Sarsfield to France. For basis to this supposition we can discover nothing more than the "duel in France" which Major Philip's son records of him, combined with the gravestone's "Limerick." Our only other trace of Major Philip is given in a letter lately received from Miss Lizzie M. O'Sullivan of Kenmare: "Philip's Island," she says, "in the Clounee Lakes, gets its name from Major Philip, who is said to have lived there."[1]

The "memorandum made about the year 1850," from which we have already quoted, says: —

"In the town of Berwick, Maine, about half a mile from Great Falls Village, situated in the middle of a ploughed field, there is an upright marble stone — unenclosed — erected to the memory of John Sullivan and his wife." [Here follows an account from memory of the inscription, which may be omitted as we give an exact copy at page 58.] "It appears like a family burying-ground, and was probably on John Sullivan's own land, as was the custom of the times. There is the appearance of other graves there."

[1] See note, page 113.

By a deed registered at York, February 14, 1853, Alexander Jenkins, of Berwick, in consideration of one dollar to him paid by Samuel Wells, of Portland, released to the latter forever "a certain parcel of land lying in said Berwick, being the burial-place where John and Margery Sullivan and others are buried, said parcel of land to be two rods square, and is not to be appropriated for any other purpose than that for which it is now used, and no more interments are to be made in it."

By a deed dated October 9, 1877, for a like consideration of one dollar Louisa A. Wells released the land to William T. Ricker, of Berwick, without any restriction upon its use. We believe it was required for a railway. The description of the land is the same in this deed as in the former one, — "being the burial-place where John and Margery Sullivan and others are buried." By the letter at page 57, however, it will be seen that very shortly after the passing of the later deed there was a removal made to General Sullivan's burying-ground at Durham, N. H. This place is described in an unsigned and undated manuscript as "the little rural burying-ground fifty rods to the right of the 'Sullivan house,' on an elevation that overlooks the house, the Oyster River, and a delightful region of cultivated country and woodland. The cemetery is six or eight rods square, enclosed with a rough and heavy stone wall, and quite overgrown with sumac, golden-rod, and such like, in rank luxuriance. The old Congregational Church stood near the Sullivan house, and the spire looked

down into the cemetery till three years since, when the old church was removed. There are apparently a dozen other graves beside those belonging to the Sullivan family. The monuments are chiefly white marble head and footstones."

We add here the following letter: —

Durham, N. H., June 16th, 1878.

Thomas C. Amory, Esq.

Dear Sir, — You requested me to have the stones in the Sullivan burying-ground cleaned and the inscriptions copied. It was too late when you was here last autumn to do the cleaning, as it was too cold work to be done in comfort. Mr. Kendal cleaned the stones last week. I have copied the inscriptions and enclose Mr. Kendall's bill for his work.

I hope it will be satisfactory to you when you see it, which I hope will be this summer.

Yours very truly,

Lucetta M. Davis.

Sacred to the Memory of
Major General John Sullivan,
who was born February 17th, 1740,
and died January 23rd, 1795.

Mrs. Lydia Sullivan,
wife of Maj. Gen. John Sullivan, died
March 22nd, A. D. 1820, aged 82 years.

Here are buried the bodies of
JOHN SULLIVAN & MARGERY his wife.
He was born in Limerick in Ireland in the Year 1692, & died in the Year 1796. She was born in Cork in Ireland in the Year 1714, & died in 1801.
This Marble is placed to their Memory
by their son, James Sullivan.

DORCAS WORSTER,
died
January 25, 1840,
Aged 83 years.

JONATHAN STEELE,
died Sept. 3, 1824, aged 64 years.

LYDIA STEELE,
wife of Jonathan Steele, died April 9th, 1842, aged 79 years.

HARRIET KING STEELE,
wife of Richard Steele, died April 11, 1823, aged 19 years.

HARRIET K. PIERCE STEELE,
Born Oct. 27, 1822, died Aug. 20, 1855.

Here rests the body of
JONATHAN STEELE, JR.,
who was born June 25, 1803, and died August 28, 1819.
The agony of Parents and exertion of Friends
could no longer detain him.

Commemoration of
CAROLINE, daughter of Jon^{a} & Lydia Steele,
who died 9th of April, 1806, aged 19 months & 9 days.

Dedicated to the
remains of MARGARET STEELE,
daughter of Jonathan & Lydia Steele, whose better part
escaped on the 4th day of March, 1803, in the
15th month of her lower abode.

In Memory of JOHN STEELE,
2nd Son of Jon[a] Steele & Mrs. Lydia Steele;
who died Sept. 8th, 1800, aged 17 months.

Vainly the parents' hopes were joined
Their only couple long to save,
When unrelenting death designed
. . . . . victim to the grave.

To prolong
the memory of LYDIA STEELE,
Dau. of Jonathan Steele, Esq. and Mrs. Lydia his wife,
who died the 30 of June, 1799, aged 4 years & 10 months.

An Index to the
silent mansion of MARGERY S. STEELE,
daughter of J. & L. Steele, who died the 15th
of Jan. 1807, aged 18 years & 5 months.

Rest, loved image here entombed,
In parent earth where sin was doomed,
Till Christ your hope consent to come
With healing wings to waft you home.

SUSAN WELLS,
Born at Durham, N. H., Oct. 4, 1798.
Died at Malden, Mass., Feb. 28, 1877.

CLARISSA S. WELLS,
died in 1826, aged 21 years.

"Yea, though I walk through the Valley of the Shadow of death, I will fear no evil."

MARGERY WELLS,
wife of Edward Wells,
died March 24, 1824, aged 46 years.

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

MARY HARDY,
wife of Theophilus Hardy and only daughter of John & Margery Sullivan, died at Strafford in the fall of 1827, aged 75 years. Her Father was born in Limerick, Ireland, in 1692, and died in Berwick, Maine, in 1796. Her mother was born in Cork, Ireland, 1714; and died in Berwick, in 1801.

MR. EDWARD WELLS
was born in Portsmouth, N. H., May 12th, 1765, and was drowned May 13, 1817, at the Isle of Shoals, while on a fishing excursion. He was buried there. His remains were removed here in the fall of 1841.

His fate he met on the dark blue wave,
And the briny deep was o'er his grave,
The swelling surge his corse bore along,
While his death-hymn was the sea-bird's song.
Him may we meet in heaven above,
And unite in its peace, its bliss & love.

In memory of
MR. JOTHAM ODIORNE,
who departed this life, August 29, 1826, æ: 35.

"Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord: . . . they rest from their labor and their works do follow them."

PART II.

IN IRELAND.

We have purposely reserved till now the mention of two documents, which by their date should have been placed before John Sullivan's death. They open a question too large to deal with until it can have the whole ground. Most of Mr. Amory's correspondents, as we have seen, had a tradition about the emigrant's reason for leaving Ireland. That romance in its various forms seemed the last thing remaining in the family mind in regard to their ancestor's origin and early life.

"It is now too late," wrote Judge Sullivan of Exeter, in December, 1855, "to look for any reliable information in regard to the ancestry of our great-grandfather. Most of the information we have of him is traditionary and uncertain." Yet in the same letter with these discouraging words he sent Mr. Amory a copy of the letter of 1796, of which he afterwards gave him the original manuscript. It is as follows: —

Sir, — A grand Uncle of myne having gone to America about sixty years back or something over, whose relations suffered greatly by being without the means of finding out his doom, till now that by great look I am inform'd you are a son of his. If you find

by the under acc^{t} that I have not been misinformed, I submissively expect you'l let me know how you and the rest of his Children are.

I am, S^{r}. yours Respecfully,

PHILIP O SULLIVAN.

ARDEA, May 16, 1796.

Mr. Owen o Sullivan, son of Major Philip o Sullivan of Ardea County Kerry Ireland by Johana the Daughter of Derby McCarthy of Killowen Esq^{r} in s^{d} County. The above pair were connected with the most respectable familyes in the Province of Munster, particularly the Count of Bearheaven, McCarthy More, Earl of Clincare, Earl Barry More, the Earl of Thumond, the Earl of Clencarthy, McFinnen of Glanarough, O Donoughu of Ross & O Donoughu of Glyn, McCarthy of Carbery & O Donovan, &c.

You will be pleased to direct to Mr. Tim o Sullivan of Brandon Road, Corke, Ireland, to be forwarded to me.

The above letter is addressed, on the outside of the folded sheet, to "Mr. John Sullivan, Aturney, Newberryport, New England."

Above "New England," in another hand, is inserted, "Portsmouth, N. H."

This letter had not been three months in Mr. Amory's possession when he received from Dr. Richard Steele news of a paper of at least equal importance, which was also soon forwarded to him. It was indorsed, we should judge in the handwriting of General Sullivan, "Account of the Race of Sullivans Given by

John Sullivan of Berwick, Maine." We subjoin an exact copy: —

"I am the son of Major Philip o'Sullivan of Ardea in the County of Kerrey and Parish of thouougsisty by the River of Killmare and Barony of Glanorough in said County. His father was called Owen O'Sullivan, originally Desendant from the second son of Daniel O'Sullivan called Lord of Beer Heaven. He married with Mary MacSweney, Daughter of Co^{llo} Owen MacSweney of Musgrey, and Sister to Cap^{t} Edmond MacSweney, a noted man for Anecdotes and witty Sayings. I heard often tell that my Grandfather had four Countesses to his Mothers and Grandmothers. How true that was or who they were I know not. My father died as they told me of an ulcer rais'd in his Breast occasioned by a wound he Receiv'd in France where he fought a duel with a french officer, and when he wounded his antigonist another run'd a sword through his back so that the point appear'd at his breast. they were all a short lived family, they Either Died in the bloom or went out of the Nation. I never hear^{d} of any of the men kind to arrive at sixty and Dont Remember but of one to be a live when I left the Nation. My Mother's name was Joane McCarthy, daugher to Dermod McCarthy of Killowen. She had three brothers and one Sister her mother's name I forget but that she was Daughter to MacCarthy Reak of Carbery. Her oldest brother Coll^{o} Florence alas Mac ffinnin. He and his two Brothers Capt. Charles and Capt. Owen went in the defence of the nation against Orange. Owen was kill'd in the battle of Airim.[1] Florence had a son who retains the title of Mac ffinnin. Charles I just remember he had a charge of powder in his face at the Siege of Cork. He Left two sons, Derby and Owen. Derby marred with Ellina Sullivan of the Sullivans

[1] Battle of Aughrim, July 12, 1691.

of Bannane; his brother Owen married to Honora Mahony, Daughter to Dinish Mahony of Droummere in the Barony of Dunkerrane or Cappenecussiss. He also Died in the prime of life much Lamented. They were short Lived on both sides. But the brevity of there lives, to my great grief and Sorrow is added to the Length of mine.

"My Mother's sister was married to Dermod O'Sullivan Eldest son of Daniel O'Sullivan, Lord of Dunkerane. Her son Cornelius as I understand was with the pretender in Scco-land in they Year 1745. This is all that I can say about my origin. But I shall conclude with a Latin Sentence which occur'd to my mind at the conclusion of this Genelogical Narration.

"Si Adam sit pater cunctorum, Mater et Eva;
Cur non sunt homines nobilitate pares?
Non pater aut mater dant nobis nobilitatem:
Sed moribus et vita nobilitatur homo.

"J. S."

The writing of the above document is extremely plain. It is unmistakably the same hand as in the Tebbets deed, already mentioned (page 33), although a little more shaky with its added forty-six years. The lines slant a little, but have no aid from ruling, whereas in the deed the page had been carefully ruled with a pencil, and even so its lines slanted. There is a distinct likeness between this handwriting and Philip's in the letter of 1796. They have the same small square characters; the same "d's" and "C's" and "I's"; the same general look. One could easily believe that they were learned in the same school.

Until these two papers met in Mr. Amory's hands, we must suppose that no one had read them together.

Judge Sullivan had never (see page 19) heard of the one in his cousin Dr. Steele's keeping; nor does Dr. Steele (page 18) seem to have known of the other. Philip's letter arrived in America when General Sullivan, to whom it was addressed, had been dead a year and a half, and his father a year. The General's widow and eldest son were living; the third son was a lawyer at Exeter; the daughter, Mrs. Steele, lived at Durham, as did also her aunt, Mrs. Hardy. Margery Sullivan was still at the Berwick farm, Ebenezer at South Berwick. James, with his children and grandchildren, had his home at Boston. We should like to know who opened Philip's letter, how many of the family read it, how they decided not to answer it, and with what degree of belief in its having something to do with them they put it away to keep. No one seems to have remembered a paper written several years before by Master Sullivan, and now in the possession of the General's widow, with which the Irish letter ought to have been compared.

It is difficult to say how much any of them knew about their descent. "My father," writes Mr. George Sullivan, son of James, (October 20, 1855,) "never spoke to me of their origin in Ireland. He only spoke of his own father and mother, and the occasion of their migrating to this country, and the incidents of their lives in Maine, — all which I presume is quite familiar to you." James and the General had for years had another Irish correspondent, Miss Nannette O'Sullivan. Mr. Amory says,[1] but does not say who told

[1] Life of James Sullivan, Vol. I. p. 210.

him, that this lady had proposed to adopt James Sullivan's son James, who died in 1787. We find only one letter from her: —

Sepr 15th, 1788.
No. 11 South Cumberland Street,
Dublin.

Dear General, — After so great a length of time since I had the pleasure of a letter from you, Your Excellency will perhaps be surprized at receiving a Letter from me, particularly as I had the honour of writing more than twice since Your last, which was dated Decr 2nd, 84. — however, I hope my Letter won't be unwelcome, and am induced from your polite and very favourable sentiments — expressed in Your Letters — for me, with the accounts I had from Your Brother, Mr. James Sullivan, of your very friendly and affectionate mention of me to him, to believe that my Letter will not be Deemed an obtrusion by Your Excellency. And you will also see by my persisting to write that I am not insensible to ye honour and advantage I must receive from a Correspondence with one whose merit and abilities are so universally known and as universally allowed; all these considered, I hope it will justify me in ye oppinion that I am not wrong in doing every thing in my power to promote it, and to embrace with pleasure every opportunity that may tend to so great a pleasure to me. To-morrow a Ship leaves this for New York, by which I shall send you this, and with it a Letter to Mr. O Sullivan, which I beg leave to take the Liberty of troubling you with for him, as a certain method for his

receiving it. My motive or reason for this is, that I immagine his Letters and mine to each other have been intercepted. In y^r^ last Letter that I was honoured with of Dec^r^ 84, as above mentioned, you wrote that you only waited to have the accounts from y^r^ father necessary for making out the Geneology, which I shall be happy to have done with the greatest exactness for you; or in any other way that you may see it within my power to oblige, not only here, but in any part of Ireland, I shall be happy to do it, and request you will not hesitate to command me, which I shall look on as a mark of your regards. The accounts I had from Mr. O Sullivan of your Militia, I assure you, I read with the greatest pleasure; and, but that it may seem something of flattery, shou'd here speak my Admiration of the great supporter of the rights and interests of his Country, so strongly evinced in every department, which he has filled with Honor to himself, and, more than possibly cou'd be expected, to his Country, in the advantages obtained for it, — a Country that I hope will be ever gratefully sensible to their protectors and to the blessings they have received from their great and virtuous exertions. Were I to attempt, General, any congratulations on Your part, tho' I were to write Volumes, cou'd they amount to what is felt in your own Bosom, — "the heart-felt pleasure arising from the consciousness of doing good, the happy reflection that your endeavours have not been vain, and that they were ever turned to the Benefit of Mankind. These sentiments must ever give real joy to the worthy mind possess-

ing them, and consequently I must pronounce Your Excellency *a happy man*, and sincerely wish you may ever Continue so. I need not, I presume, tell you what a favourite your Brother is with me, — a sweet, Amiable Man, I wish constantly to hear from him. He complains frequently of his bad state of health. I fear he confines himself to much, in too close an application and all that for the good of his Country, for his Dear America, — as he calls it — and I say, "for the general good of Mankind, what a pitty *such* a Man shou'd ever meet with troubles, and he really has met with a great share, and every succeeding one severer than the former. What a trial must the loss of his amiable son be, whose Death I — who never had the pleasure of knowing him more than by character — so sincerely regretted; but my Dear Mr. O Sullivan's sufferings is one of those just proofs "that those whom God loves he chastiseth." Do you often see him? I think every thing shou'd be done to keep up his spirits. I have now to beg Your permission for troubling Your Excellency in requesting, if you have, or shou'd hear anything of a young Gentleman, a Mr. Eugene O Sullivan, that you will be kind in letting me know it; he is son to a Mr. Cornelius O Sullivan, late of Fox-hill in the County of Killdare; he is about twenty one years old, and left Dublin about four years since. His family are under the utmost uneasiness for him, as they have not heard any thing from him since he left Ireland. They immagine he is in some part of America; and I think it is very probable — as a young man of emulation — that he has made his way

to you or your Brother. I hope he has been so fortunate; and if he has, his friends will never regret his absence, but rejoice in his happiness. He has two Brothers living here, one a physician, the other a Wine-Merchant; he has two Sisters here married. His Mother is living, and keeps with his sister Nugent. To attempt any apology for giving you this trouble, I am sure, wou'd be an injustice to your Benevolence. I am now in Dublin these seven months. I am greatly pleased with it, it is a beautiful City. You know it is the Metropolis of Ireland. Our Parliament is not yet sitting. At present cant give you any information on the politics of this Country. What is your oppinion of the fate of poor Ireland? Our Volunteers make but a very poor figure, and they were a very fine Body; we even had not the Franchises[1] rode here this Season. I was delighted with the accounts in our papers of the Franchises[2] in Phillidelphia. I dare say you were to see them, and undoubtedly Mr. O Sullivan was. I believe they were the first ever there. I am told Phillidelphia is a Beautiful City. Is it far from Durham? or, is Durham a pleasant situation? You 'll see by these questions that I am but a bad Geographer. My Mother and Aunt o Keeffe, the lady I am with, desire their best Respects to Your Excellency, and you will be kind in accepting the Respects of our family in general, as it wou'd be their request if I were near

[1] "Riding the Franchises," — the local name for a civic procession, which took place in Dublin every third year. See Notes and Queries, Second Series, Vol. VIII. pp. 207, 295.

[2] See "Massachusetts Centinel" for July 16, 1788: "The Grand Federal Procession in Philadelphia as it marched on the 4th instant." It was to celebrate Pennsylvania's ratification of the Federal Constitution.

them. My Brother particularly will be rejoiced when he hears I have not forgot mentioning his to you. I shall thank you (if not too great a trouble) to let me know if you go to Phillidelphia, or if you have any Correspondents there.

This Letter I have written in a hurry. I shou'd never do so in writing to Your Excellency if it possibly cou'd be avoided; but the time was so short, since I heard of the Ship that leaves this, that if I did not do so, I must miss the opportunity; and I'd much rather be guilty of a want of Ceremony than omit, when in my power, to assure you that above all other considerations arising from your Correspondence, tho' numerous, a place in Your Friendship is what is most esteemed by, Dear General,

Y^r^ Excellency's
most obedient,
much obliged,
and sincerely affectionate
Friend and Humble Serv^t^,
NANNETTE O SULLIVAN.

You 'll please to direct for me
Miss O Sullivan
No. 11 South Cumberland Street
Dublin.

Dr. Steele before examining his papers thought that they contained "one *or two* letters from some of the females of the Sullivan family in Ireland in relation to the coat of arms." An undated fragment in Mr. Amory's handwriting says: "In *one of* Nannette's letters an expression leads me to think the name of our

first American ancestor was Owen, and in that of Philip O'Sullivan, 1796, to General Sullivan he so calls him." In the letter which we have, Nannette says nothing of the coat of arms, nor of the name. She reminds General Sullivan that in his last letter, December 2, 1784, "You wrote that you only waited to have the accounts from your father necessary for making out the Geneology which I shall be happy to have done with the greatest exactness for you." The chief value of her letter lies in these two indications; namely, that General Sullivan asked his father to write what he knew of his descent, and that he asked it about 1784. Who she herself was, and how she came to know the Berwick Sullivans, Nannette does not explain. Her letter, whose small but clear writing allows twenty-six lines to a page of the well filled square sheet, tells us only that she wrote from Dublin, where she, and apparently her mother, had been for seven months staying with her "Aunt O'Keeffe" in Cumberland Street. Dublin was new to her, and America evidently known only by report: "I am told Phillidelphia is a Beautiful City, is it far from Durham, or, is Durham a pleasant situation? You'll see by these questions that I am but a bad Geographer."

We find among the papers what is no doubt the "coat of arms of the family of Sullivan" mentioned by Dr. Steele. It is a painting on parchment, cracked and darkened, but fairly decipherable. James and Ebenezer Sullivan adopted the arms as their own, motto and all, and had them engraved, James for a book-plate with his name added, as may be seen in

his copy which we have of the "Religion of Nature Delineated." But except that the stag and boar have changed sides on the base, that the bird in the crest has nothing in its beak, and that the Irish motto is exchanged for the Latin *Modestia Victrix*, the arms are the arms of O'Sullivan Mor as given in Burke's "General Armory," and a "Sullivan family" from Ardea Castle could have no claim to them. The arms of O'Sullivan Beare are printed in our frontispiece from the blazon in Burke. The arms and motto on the parchment are precisely those now borne by Mr. John Louis O'Sullivan of New York, who takes them from the seal of his great-grandfather, well known as follower and favourite of Prince Charles Edward in 1745.[1] Mrs. John Louis O'Sullivan in 1885, remarking that John of Berwick "speaks of the O'Sullivan who fought with Prince Charles Edward as *Cornelius*" (see page 64), adds: "This is a mistake; his name was John William. He was made a Baronet by King James, and his name figures in a list in the Royal Library at Windsor as Sir John O'Sullivan. Mr. Amory's book[2] gives some particulars correctly of his life and adventures with the Prince."

Mrs. O'Sullivan gives a table (see page 100) to show the lines descending from the two daughters of Dermod McCarthy Mor and Ellen McCarthy Reagh, his wife, one daughter having married our ancestor, Philip O'Sullivan Beare, and the other Dermod, eldest son

[1] History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France. By John Cornelius O'Callaghan. New York, 1874, pp. 375–465.

[2] Life of General Sullivan, p. 282.

of Daniel O'Sullivan of Dunkerron. "It proves," she says, "that the relationship between the Sullivans of Boston and my husband is closer through the McCarthys than through the O'Sullivans. — The O'Sullivan motto is *Lamh foisdineach an uachtar*, literally, 'What we gain by conquest we secure by clemency.' General O'Sullivan (of Culloden) took the spirit of the motto and caused it to be rendered into Latin by the Heralds' College. His descendants now use it in that form, *Modestia Victrix*, 'Victorious through Moderation.'"

In a letter written June 26, 1892, Mrs. O'Sullivan tells us: "In 1881 and 1882 I rummaged about in the British Museum to discover as much as possible of the O'Sullivans, especially of Sir John. The head of the Reading Room was very kind, and took a great deal of trouble to get down books and pamphlets bearing on the subject. From these I learned that he was a grandson of Dermod McCarthy and Daniel O'Sullivan of Dunkerron, as well as many personal traits and adventures. Shortly after our return, in 1882, all my notes were accidentally burned, so that I can give you no particulars or authorities beyond the fact and names. I had not then seen Mr. Amory's book."

This proves that Mr. Amory was right[1] in identifying Sir John with that Cornelius, nephew of Master Sullivan's mother, of whom we read in the "Account" (see page 64). Master Sullivan's "Daniel O'Sullivan, lord of Dunkerrane," means no doubt The O'Sullivan Mor, that branch of the Sept having had its chief seat at

[1] Life of Major General John Sullivan, p. 282.

Dunkerron in Kerry. If Nannette sent the parchment, and if she sent it as representing her own family's arms, she must have been an O'Sullivan Mor, and related to Sir John. This relationship may have been the ground of her interest in Sir John's American cousins.

The rumour which prompted the letter of 1796 may have reached Ardea through Nannette, though, if it did, it was long on the way. Other Irishmen and even Sullivans not known as children of our emigrant appear in the Berwick and Kittery records of the time, and information from them may have travelled home to Kerry and mingled with chance gossip there about the American war and the men who took part in it. However this was, Philip wrote. His grandfather Dermod, the brother (see page 78) who so "deeply lamented" Owen, was living then, but died four years after; the next generation passed, and Philip's own. For sixty years his letter brought no reply.

When Mr. Amory took up the thread we have no evidence that he wrote directly to Ardea. The facts in his possession were that his great-grandfather claimed descent from The O'Sullivan Beare through a certain Owen O'Sullivan (known as Owen of the Four Countesses), and his son, called Major Philip O'Sullivan, of Ardea, whose wife was Johanna McCarthy; and that a later Philip O'Sullivan of Ardea had professed to be a great-grandson of this Major Philip and his wife Johanna, and great-nephew of Major Philip's son, who had gone to America before 1736.

What hindered Mr. Amory from immediate inquiries at Ardea we do not know. He corresponded in 1857–

58 with Mr. John D'Alton of Dublin,—author of "Illustrations of King James's Army List," — who gave him references to the name O'Sullivan in Records, Inquisitions, Lists of Attainders, etc., and who also made an unsuccessful effort to trace Nannette in Dublin. The earliest direct witness, after Philip, to the truth of John Sullivan's "Account" must have been Mr. Charles J. McCarthy of Boston, who read the "Life of James Sullivan" in 1860, and supplied in a letter to Mr. Amory the facts which we have tabulated at page 99, Table III. He was followed in a few months by Philip's son, in a new letter from Ardea.

We have the original of this letter, but not its envelope, so that we do not know the name of the person to whom it is addressed. He was a son in law, apparently living in America, and had sent home questions about his wife's family, no doubt at Mr. Amory's suggestion. Mr. Amory, in the New England Genealogical Register for October, 1865, introduces quotations from the letter by saying that "the connecting links in the pedigree were supplied in 1860 by Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan of Ardea, since deceased at an advanced age." Mr. O'Sullivan wrote by an amanuensis, — one of his younger sons, as a postscript shows, — and his letter as we have it is rather the unskilful report of an old man's careless talk than deliberate writing. For this reason we do not print it. Its testimony, however, to the pedigree seems important enough to be included in our tables (page 99). It gives valuable support to the other evidence, especially to that of Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan's son, Mr.

Mortimer Dan Philip O'Sullivan of Kenmare, with whom Mr. Amory corresponded from 1876 to 1882. (See below.)

About 1868, under the title "Master Sullivan of Berwick, his Ancestors and Descendants," Mr. Amory printed in pamphlet form, with additions, the paper just mentioned, which he had three years earlier published in the Register. He had not been able, from Histories and Baronetages to bring the Ardea line of O'Sullivan Beare farther down on its way to Owen of the Four Countesses than Donel, who was said by Sir William Betham to have held the Castle of Ardea in James the First's reign. But the letter of 1860 from Ardea bridged the gulf. Donel, it affirmed, had a son Philip; Philip a son Daniel; and Daniel was the father of Owen of the Four Countesses. Mr. Amory of course wished to establish these facts beyond dispute. He wrote in 1875 to an O'Sullivan family at Cork, and was referred by them to Mr. Mortimer D. P. O'Sullivan of Kenmare as the representative of the line he wished to trace. We give four of the letters which he received from Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan.

KENMARE, February 12th, 1876.

DEAR SIR, — I received a note from Mr. Herbert O'Sullivan a few days since enclosing one from you to his brother Murtogh (who lately died) in which you made some inquiries relative to the pedigree of your family tracing back to Dermod of Dunboy Castle, who was father to Donal of Dunboy, Sir Owen of Bantry, and Sir Philip of Ardea.

I think I can satisfy you on those points, being the lineal descendant of Sir Philip O'Sullivan of Ardea Castle, brother to the above-mentioned Donal of Dunboy and Sir Owen of Bantry, whose property was confiscated under the reign of Queen Elizabeth and the presidency of Sir Philip[1] Carew. I am the grandson of the Philip O'Sullivan who wrote the letter you refer to directed to General O'Sullivan, who distinguished himself under Washington during the Revolution. Though in very limited means at present after the lapse of centuries and the worldly fortunes of the family, I possess the original patent under James the First enumerating the various territories in Kerry and Cork granted to my ancestors, which patent or title I have frequently been asked to show to the Marquis of Lansdowne and other gentlemen who take an interest in old family records referring to an early period of Irish history.

I remain yours faithfully,

MORTIMER DAN PHILIP O'SULLIVAN,
Kenmare.

THOMAS C. AMORY, ESQ.

KENMARE, March 17th, 1876.

DEAR SIR, — I received your letter and book (the life of General John Sullivan), which I was delighted to get, and return you my sincere thanks for it, as he was one that any one having a claim on him should be proud to own as a relation.

I have always heard my father speak of Owen (your g. grandfather) going to America; he was deeply

[1] Sir George.

lamented by his brother Dermod (my g. g. grandfather) who never got an account of him.

Dermod and Owen were brothers, both sons of Major Philip, who married to Johanna McCarthy, daughter to Dermod McCarthy of Killowen. Her mother was Ellen McCarthy, daughter to Timothy McCarthy of Donglaven and granddaughter to Lord Muskerry.

Dermod died at my grandfather's (Philip O'Sullivan, the man who wrote the letter mentioned in your book) at the age of one hundred and ten years. He requested before he died that as many of his great-grandchildren as were able should go to his funeral. My father (Daniel), being the eldest, and Philip, the next, were at the funeral.

I think the best way is to give you an account from Sir Philip of Ardea Castle down, according to my pedigree, as a great many of the answers to your questions are contained therein. You will see that your g. grandfather's account and my pedigree correspond.

Sir Philip O'Sullivan of Ardea Castle was married to the Earl of Thomond's daughter. He was the second son of Daniel O'Sullivan Bear.

His son Donnel was married to Maryanne McCarthy, daughter to the Earl of Clancarty and granddaughter to the Earl of Cork,

Who had a son Philip, who was married to Honora McCarthy, daughter to Charles McCarthy, lord of Muskerry, who lived in the Castles of Macroom and Blarney,

Who had a son Donnel, who was married to Ellen O'Sullivan, daughter to Daniel O'Sullivan More by

Maryanne Fitzgerald, daughter to the Earl of Kildare and granddaughter to the Earl of Antrim,

Who had a son Owen, who was married to Mary McSweeney, daughter to Colonel Owen McSweeney of Muskerry,

Who had a son Major Philip, who was married to Johanna McCarthy, daughter of Dermod McCarthy of Killowen by Ellen McCarthy, daughter to Timothy McCarthy of Donglaven and granddaughter to Lord Muskerry,

Who had a son Dermod,

Who had a son Daniel,

Who had four sons and two daughters, Philip, John, Daniel, and Kerry.

Philip had four sons, Daniel (my father), Philip, Owen, and the Rev. Morty O'Sullivan, P. P. of Lisselton, who are all dead.

If required I will send you the names of those to whom the last four generations were married.

It will be easy for you to trace Owen of the Four Countesses (as he is generally styled), his relation to Donal Caum, last Prince of Bear, Donal being nephew to Sir Philip O'Sullivan of Ardea Castle.

I am the lineal descendant of Sir Philip, although I possess none of his property. The children of the younger branches of my family are gone to America, as likewise my own younger brothers Dan and John.

Dermod (Owen's brother) was the last who held Ardea. It was in the survey of Sir William Petty he lost it, as he would not consent to pay taxes, which he was unaccustomed to do before and would not submit

to then! He received a small portion of the lands free, a place called Clounee, but after a time his descendants were made pay rent to Lord Lansdowne (who came in for Petty's holdings), who by little and little raised the rent until the lands became worthless.

My father's second brother had no son, but three daughters, who are unmarried and retain a small portion of the lands of Clounee, of which I possess none. It is on that portion of the lands which they hold that my grandfather's house is standing. It was in that house Dermod died.

My family tomb was built by Owen of the Four Countesses. It is in that tomb my father is buried. The four Countesses are buried near the tomb in the church, the ruin of which is still standing. The church was dedicated to Saint Killian. The burial place is called Kilmakilloge in the parish of Tuosist, within two miles of Ardea Castle and nine miles from Kenmare.

There were some gentlemen who knew who I was spoke to Lord Lansdowne (knowing how he came by our property) to do something for me. The present agent sent for me, and introduced me as the lineal descendant of Sir Philip of Ardea Castle. He saw the Grand Seal and patent and my pedigree. When he read the pedigree he inquired where the four Countesses were buried (as one of his ancestors married in the Thomond family). On being told he seemed to take an interest in the place. The agent in his presence expressed a wish to get the place railed in, but of course he forgot doing that as well as doing anything for me. I hold Sir Philip's seal given to him

SEAL IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. M. D. P. O'SULLIVAN.

by James I. Enclosed you will find a copy of one side of the seal; it is taken roughly, but it will give you an idea of it; the other side represents King James mounted on his charger with battle-axe and sword, the Irish Harp with the Crown over it, and a wolf-dog underneath the charger; the printing is the same as the other side. If you would like to see the seal itself, I will send it when you let me know. Many gentlemen have tried to induce my father and myself to sell the seal, but all their inducements have failed them; even the greatest poverty would not compel us to part with it. The patent is different from the seal. The patent belonged to Donal Caum, handed over by him to his uncle Sir Philip before he left Ireland for Spain.

The date and greater part of the patent were lost in the hands of my youngest uncle, the Rev. Morty O'Sullivan, P. P. of Lisselton. He wrote to my father for them, and it was after his death that part of them were lost.

I am told that they are registered in the Dublin Castle, but I never had means to get them renewed, as you know it would cost a poor man something.

The ruin of Ardea Castle is still standing. It is on a high eminence overlooking the sea. I am told by old people who remember to have seen [it, that there was] a large field in front of it, but now that field is worn away by the constant dashing of the waves against it.

I never heard that Donal, son of Dermod, had but one son, Donal, the Count of Bearhaven. I have heard it said that Dermod, son of the Count of Bearhaven (by his marriage in Spain), came to Ireland long after his

father's death to encourage the Irish to free themselves from the English yoke and that he would bring them help from Spain. They did not agree between themselves, and he, disgusted with them, went off again, saying he had plenty of property to live upon. He had three daughters, who entered a convent in Salamanca, and sold the property, except a portion which was left to support the title, which they could not sell. This is not taken from the pedigree, but handed down from father to son.

. . . . . .

Dermod, like his brother Owen (your great-grandfather), got a liberal education. He was a great poet.

. . . . . .

Hoping to hear from you soon I remain,

yours truly,

MORTIMER DAN PHILIP O'SULLIVAN,
Kenmare.

P. S. — I am sending the copy of the seal separate from the letter. Yours,

M. D. P. O'S.

THOMAS C. AMORY,
Boston.

KENMARE, May 6th, 1876.

DEAR MR. AMORY, — I would have answered your letter sooner had I not been waiting to get some pedigrees for you, as I had a promise from a gentleman to get Lord Kenmare's pedigree, but it would take some time before he could have it for me; and as soon as I get it I shall send it to you.

In taking a copy from my pedigree I must have made a mistake in the first part. Sir Philip was married to the Earl of Thomond's daughter. He was second son of Donal, who was married to Maryanne McCarthy, daughter to the Earl of Clancarty and granddaughter to the Earl of Cork. This part is equally puzzling to myself, as I have always heard that Sir Philip was son of Dermod. Donal, son of Sir Philip, did marry daughter to O'Sullivan More. I cannot say who drew up my pedigree as it is handed down from father to son in the family for generations, always reserving it and the seal and deeds for the eldest son.

With regard to the Earl of Thomond's daughter, I have always heard from tradition (besides having it in my pedigree) that she was married to Sir Philip and buried at Kilmakilloge, and a follower of hers who came with her, by the name of McCallan (or Neil), his descendants were always followers in our family, and there are still some of them residing in the country. There are no old letters remained in the family, the only relic which remains of them is what I possess, the pedigree, seal, and title-deeds, part of which was lost.

The seal is on no document. It is composed, I think, of beeswax and some other ingredient. It is the size of the card I send, and about half an inch in thickness. I would send it to you to see, but I would be afraid it may get broken on the way. It is declared by good judges who saw it to be one of the oldest and handsomest seals which remain of the old families.

The title-deed, written in text-hand on parchment, and enumerating the various territories held by them in the South. The date was lost. It must have been registered in Dublin Castle.

Dermod, brother of Owen, died about the year 1800. He was married to Aileen McCarthy Mac Finnin of Artully.

His son Daniel was married to Elizabeth O'Sullivan, daughter to Silvester O'Sullivan (Mac Finnen Duff) of Dereen, Tuosist, who was married to O'Donovan of Banelahane by Ellen Fitzgerald, daughter to John Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry.

Philip, son of Daniel, was married to Anne O'Sullivan, daughter to Daniel O'Sullivan of Glanenchaquin, Tuosist, who was of the Bunane family.

Daniel, son of Philip, was married to Mary Dee, sister to Revds. John and Michael Dee, who were Parish Priest of Tuosist, and afterwards of Kenmare, about fifty years ago.

The line of descent drops with myself. I am married to Elizabeth, daughter to Daniel O'Sullivan by Elizabeth McCarthy, daughter to Callahan McCarthy, and granddaughter to Captain Felix McCarthy of Kilgarven.

I went to see Mrs. Francis Clare, according to your directions. I expect to hear from you soon, and shall forthwith send you all the information I can. If any mistakes have crept into my pedigree of course I cannot say, as it was handed down from my father to me and from his father to him and so on all along. As for Sir Philip there is scarcely any one in the place who

you would ask that would not tell you he was married to the Earl of Thomond's daughter, and that she was buried at Kilmakilloge.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

MORTIMER D. P. O'SULLIVAN,

Kenmare.

THOMAS C. AMORY, ESQ.,
Boston.

P. S. I am only sending you the eldest branches of Dermod's descendants, as there was no record kept of any except of the eldest son, and none of the family remain in the country but three daughters of my Uncle Philip and myself. All the rest scattered and went to America.

Yours very sincerely,

MORTIMER D. P. O'SULLIVAN,

Kenmare.

KENMARE, August 22, 1876.

DEAR MR. AMORY, . . . I have no further information relative to my family to give you. I cannot say what branch of the family Colonel Daniel belongs to. An English Colonel Flesk called on me a few [ ] since, and a Mr. Taylor, a Scotch gentleman, with him. Mr. Taylor being living in Kenmare at the Lansdowne Office, I was well acquainted with him. He asked me if I would show him the seal of my ancestor. I did not like to refuse Taylor. Flesk said he saw a drawing of the seal in Croker's book. Croker was a Cork man, who wrote a great deal about the

O'Sullivans. This Colonel Flesk I think was a historian himself. He turned over to Taylor, and said in a low voice, "Those were great men, but Cromwell put them down. They went rather hot to work with the King of Spain, and kept the country in rebellion for years." He spoke about Colonel Daniel, one of the family, who fought with the Pretender in Scotland. If this book could be made out I am sure there would be a great deal of information in it regarding the family. It is a very old book.

I forgot telling you in my last letter that I had an uncle called Owen, and a brother Owen, both dead; a brother Philip, Dan, John. The two latter are living in America.

Killowen is about a mile east of Kenmare, where the ruins of an old mansion still remain. I would like to know if your mother is still alive, and if there are any more branches of the family living in America.

. . . . . .

I have sent you McCarthy Glas' book. I cannot say if it is of any importance to you. You may get some information from it. As you aware, none of the family possess any of their rights or have any claim on the Castle. There are three of my Uncle Philip's daughthers who hold a portion of my grandfather's lands in the next town-land to the Castle at a high rent from Lord Lansdowne. As for my part I hold no lands but try and make a living the best way I can. Grandfather's house is still in the hands of my uncle's daughters — that is the man who wrote the letter mentioned in your book.

I have no more to state at present. Hoping soon to hear from you again,

I remain yours sincerely,

MORTIMER D. P. O'SULLIVAN,

Kenmare.

After this correspondence it was clear that John of Berwick had given a true account of his father and mother, and of his grandfather Owen O'Sullivan; that his family at home believed as he did in their descent from the lord of Bearehaven, whose younger son began the Ardea line; and that from a family record as well as from tradition they could give names, marriages, and connections for all the generations of this descent. It remained to test and complete their story by the judgment and learning of an expert and recognized authority. In 1887, Mrs. Alexander Cochrane, Mr. Richard Sullivan, and Mr. Amory joined in applying to Sir J. Bernard Burke, Ulster King of Arms, for an officially certified genealogy of O'Sullivan Beare including the Ardea branch. We give three notes from Sir Bernard Burke, followed by the Genealogy, or Pedigree, which he accordingly drew up. We print this Pedigree exactly as he wrote it, except that we mark John Sullivan's direct line by a difference of type, and that we put the names written in Irish characters into English Italics. We have not even corrected Sir Bernard Burke's obvious errors in the American branch.

NOTES FROM SIR J. BERNARD BURKE.

I.

Dublin Castle, 1 April, 1887.

Dear Mr. Amory, — The genealogical inquiry you place in my hands I undertake with great pleasure. It shall have my most careful attention. No source of information shall be left unexplored.

. . . . . Cordial regards.

Yours very sincerely,

J. Bernard Burke,
Ulster.

II.

Dublin Castle, 9 June, 1887.

My dear Mr. Amory, — I have made much way with the O'Sullivan pedigree, and will have the pleasure very shortly of sending you the result of my labours. . . . .

It is pleasant to find in America a branch of the grand old line of O'Sullivan Beare, still flourishing, and provable.

With sincere regard and esteem,

Yours ever truly,

J. Bernard Burke,
Ulster.

III.

DUBLIN CASTLE, 7 Sept., 1887.

DEAR MR. AMORY, — By this post I have the pleasure to send you a report of all I can do anent the Sullivans. No source of information has been left unexplored, no trouble omitted, and yet there are points still incomplete. I have done my best.

My cordial and kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

J. BERNARD BURKE,

Ulster.

PEDIGREE OF O'SULLIVAN BEARE,

By Sir J. Bernard Burke.

Suildhubhain, Anglice Sulivan,

from whom the Sept of O'Sullivan took their Tribe name, was descended, according to O'Ferrall's Linea Antiqua (Ulster's Office), O'Clery's Pedigrees, and other Irish Genealogies, from Finghin, or Florence, the 14th Christian King of Munster.

Lorcan Mac Sullivan.

Buadha O'Sullivan, called *Athacru*,
i. e. Athcru of the Bloody Ford.

Aodh or **Hugh O'Sullivan.**

Cathal O'Sullivan.

Buadha O'Sullivan.

Mac Craith O'Sullivan.

Donel More O'Sullivan.

Gilla Mochuda O'Sullivan,
from whom descended the chiefs of the Sept known as the line of O'Sullivan More.

Gilla na bhflan O'Sullivan.
ancestor of the branches of O'Sullivan Beare, Lords of Bearhaven and Bantry, and O'Sullivan Mac Fineen duff.

Philip O'Sullivan.

Gilla Mochuda O'Sullivan,
from whom O'Sullivan Mac Fineen duff.

Dunlaing O'Sullivan.

Anad O'Sullivan,
1st Lord of Beare and Bantry.

Anaduff O'Sullivan.

Amhlaffe O'Sullivan,
or Awley the Hardy.

Gilla Mochuda Mor.

Tiege O'Sullivan,
surnamed the Strong.

Owen.

Dermod O'Sullivan, *Balbh*,
i. e. the Stammerer.

JOHN SULLIVAN.

ure, by Sir J. Bernard Burke.

dau. of Owen McSweney, the Constable of
, foster sister to her husband.

[1] This Owen Sullivan, of Berwick, wrote, at the request of his son John Sullivan, the following account of his family: "I am the son of Major Philip O'Sullivan of Ardea. His father was Owen O'Sullivan, original descendant from the second son of Daniel O'Sullivan, called Lord of Bearhaven. He married Mary, daughter of Col. Owen McSweney, of Musgry."

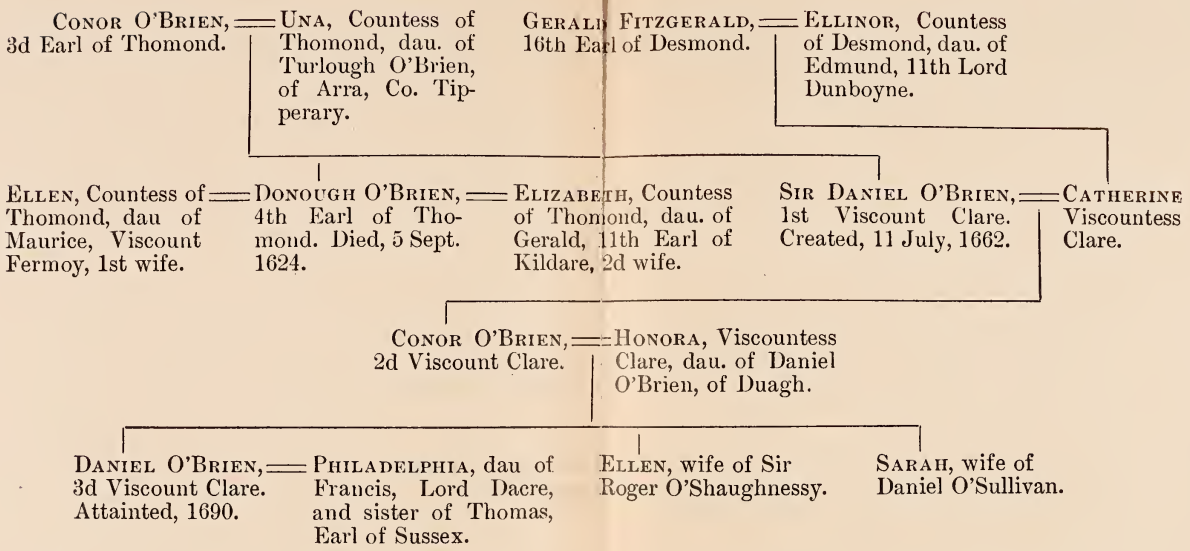
wen O'Sullivan[1] = MARGERY BROWNE. Born
erick, 1692. Set- in Cork, 1714. Went to
ck, State of Maine, America at 9 years old. Mar-
ied, 1796. ried, 1736. Died, 1801.

James Sullivan, = HETTY = MARTHA JOHN SULLIVAN,
the State of Massa- ODIORNE, LANGDON, a General in the
rn 22 April, 1744. 1st wife. 2d wife. American Army.
nument to his fa-
her. Received the
May, 1796, from
an.

r. JULIA. MARY. **Richard Sullivan.** = SARAH RUSSELL.
Born, 1779.

Richard Sullivan. = HENRIETTA GARDINER.
Born, 1820.

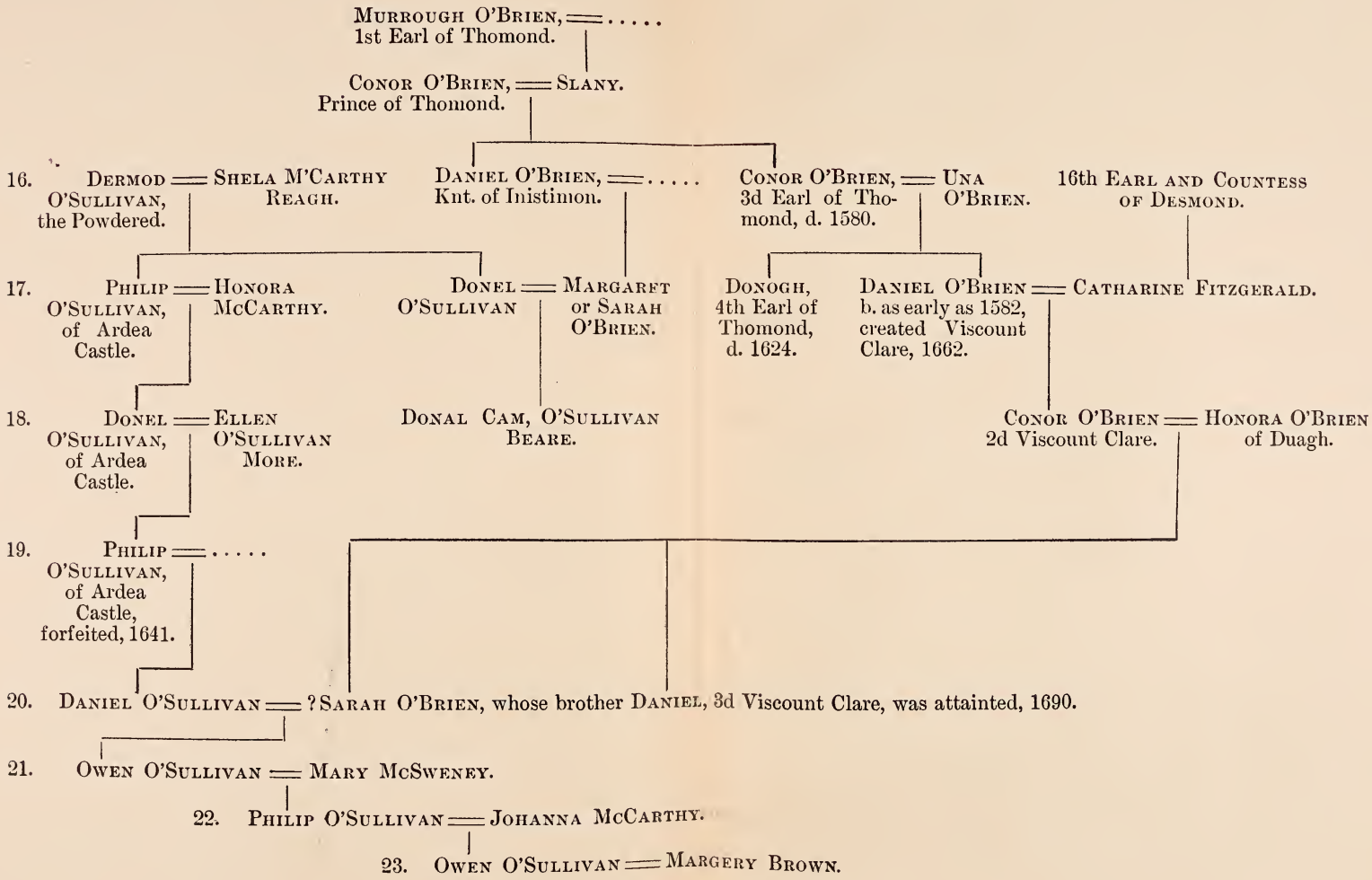
Pedigree of O'Sullivan Beare, by Sir J. Bernard Burke.


Conor O'Brien, 3d Earl of Thomond.
Una, Countess of Thomond, dau. of Turlough O'Brien, of Arra, Co. Tipperary.
Gerald Fitzgerald, 16th Earl of Desmond.
Ellinor, Countess of Desmond, dau. of Edmund, 11th Lord Dunboyne.
Ellen, Countess of Thomond, dau of Maurice, Viscount Fermoy, 1st wife.
Donough O'Brien, 4th Earl of Thomond. Died, 5 Sept. 1624.
Elizabeth, Countess of Thomond, dau. of Gerald, 11th Earl of Kildare, 2d wife.
Sir Daniel O'Brien, 1st Viscount Clare. Created, 11 July, 1662.
Catherine Viscountess Clare.
Conor O'Brien, 2d Viscount Clare.
Honora, Viscountess Clare, dau. of Daniel O'Brien, of Duagh.
Daniel O'Brien, 3d Viscount Clare. Attainted, 1690.
Philadelphia, dau of Francis, Lord Dacre, and sister of Thomas, Earl of Sussex.
Ellen, wife of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy.
Sarah, wife of Daniel O'Sullivan.

The tradition of "the Four Countesses' may possibly be explained by the above sketch of pedigree. Owen O'Sullivan, who settled in America in 1723, was the grandson of Owen O'Sullivan known in the family as "Owen of the Four Countesses."

[Signed,] J. BERNARD BURKE,
Ulster.

A Table to show what is implied in the "Sketch of Pedigree," offered by Sir Bernard Burke as a possible Explanation of the Tradition of the Four Countesses.


Murrough O'Brien, ... 1st Earl of Thomond.
Conor O'Brien, Prince of Thomond. = Slany.
16. Dermod O'Sullivan, the Powdered. = Shela M'Carthy Reagh.
Daniel O'Brien, Knt. of Inistimon. = ...
Conor O'Brien, 3d Earl of Thomond, d. 1580. = Una O'Brien.
16th Earl and Countess of Desmond.
17. Philip O'Sullivan, of Ardea Castle. = Honora McCarthy.
Donel O'Sullivan = Margaret or Sarah O'Brien.
Donogh, 4th Earl of Thomond, d. 1624.
Daniel O'Brien, b. as early as 1582, created Viscount Clare, 1662. = Catharine Fitzgerald.
18. Donel O'Sullivan, of Ardea Castle. = Ellen O'Sullivan More.
Donal Cam, O'Sullivan Beare.
Conor O'Brien 2d Viscount Clare. = Honora O'Brien of Duagh.
19. Philip O'Sullivan, of Ardea Castle, forfeited, 1641. = ...
20. Daniel O'Sullivan = ? Sarah O'Brien, whose brother Daniel, 3d Viscount Clare, was attainted, 1690.
21. Owen O'Sullivan = Mary McSweney.
22. Philip O'Sullivan = Johanna McCarthy.
23. Owen O'Sullivan = Margery Brown.

We have seven authorities to compare with this official genealogy, or rather with parts of it. They are John Sullivan's own Account, written about 1784; Philip's letter of 1796; a fragment of genealogy furnished by Mr. McCarthy in 1860; another, by Mrs. John Louis O'Sullivan in 1885; the Ardea Parchment, as reported by Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan in 1860, and by his son Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan in 1876; and a bit of the O'Sullivan Beare line in a letter from Mr. O'Herlihy of Cork in 1876. These are not all of equal importance, but each serves, if not otherwise, at least as a test of the general accuracy of the other witnesses on whose word we must depend. We have put into tabular form the statements of each of the eight, so that they may be compared without trouble. Through all the eight tables we carry one system of numbering, 14, for instance, meaning always the fourteenth generation in the foregoing complete Pedigree by Sir Bernard Burke, where Suildhubhain is the first. It is only Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan who gives more names than will fit this numbering. We are obliged to leave three of his names not numbered, but the position of those which precede and which follow the three is sufficiently determined by his son's version.

It should be noted that Sir Bernard Burke omits Generation 20, and does not say, except as reporting the statement of Owen's descendants, that Owen of the Four Countesses is grandson to Generation 19, and so to be counted as 21. On the other hand he gives a "Sketch of Pedigree" (page 93) to show that there was, about the right time for Owen's father, a

Daniel O'Sullivan who married Sarah O'Brien, great-niece of the Earl of Thomond, and granddaughter of the first Viscount Clare. This lady's mother and grandmother were Viscountesses Clare, and two of her great-grandmothers were Countesses, one of Desmond, the other of Thomond, — a fact quite like enough to the tradition of the Four Countesses to have been its foundation. The Ardea Parchment, it is true, gives Daniel a different wife; but it names only *two* Countesses, whom she would have made great-grandmother and great-great-grandmother to Owen. We expect to find his connection with the Countesses made only through his mother, as otherwise it would not have formed so great a distinction for him in his father's family. We have made a fuller table than Sir Bernard Burke's to illustrate the hypothesis of the O'Brien marriage, collecting for it additional names from the earlier part of his Pedigree, and from O'Donoghue's "Historical Memoir of the O'Briens." (page 94).

As Mr. Amory no doubt put Sir Bernard Burke in possession of all that he had learned from Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan, we must suppose that Mr. O'Sullivan's statements were as far as possible verified by Sir Bernard Burke before he wrote the Pedigree. Where he differs from them he must have had what seemed to him better authority, and we regret that he does not say what it was. It will be noticed that the wives given by the Ardea Parchment to Generations 19 and 20 are each put back two generations by Sir Bernard Burke, who gives them to Generations 17 and 18. Or rather, in the case of Generation 17, he gives a wife of the same

name with the one whom Ardea gives to Generation 19, though of a different descent, making her Honora McCarthy of Duhallow, instead of Honora McCarthy of Muskerry. The two ladies whom he displaces from Generations 17 and 18, namely, the daughters of the Earls of Thomond and Clancarty, he entirely ignores. He knows of no wife for Generation 19, and Generation 20, as we have seen, he omits altogether. Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan in his third letter to Mr. Amory, May 6, 1876, (page 82,) admits that he is himself puzzled about these marriages. The repetition of "Philip" and "Donal" makes it easy to confuse the two later generations each with his grandfather. Without seeing the parchment, we can only guess at explanations. This is a most vain amusement, yet one might possibly hit the mark by suggesting that it was the younger Philip, Generation 19, who married the Earl of Thomond's daughter. In that case Daniel, Generation 20, in marrying Sarah O'Brien, would have married the daughter of his mother's first cousin. Owen too would have had another Countess for a great-grandmother, though this is hardly a gain in clearness, for why then did he count only four?

In spite of Sir Bernard Burke's dissent, Mr. Amory was inclined to hold to the Ardea record. His view is presented in the pedigree of Mr. Arthur Amory in Browning's "Americans of Royal Descent," copyrighted in 1882. There are in this a few mistakes, possibly printer's errors, but as a whole it is drawn, with regard to Generations 17, 18, 19, and 20, from Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan's letter of March 17, 1876.

Eight Tables,

To show in brief the Agreement and the Difference between Authorities on this Genealogy.

[We number the Generations, in all the tables alike, according to the Pedigree by Sir Bernard Burke, counting Suildhubhain as Generation 1.]

TABLE I.

John of Berwick's Account.

16. Daniel O'Sullivan, Lord of Beer Heaven.

17. His second son,
from whom was "originally descendant"

21. Owen O'Sullivan, said to have had four Countesses to his mothers and grandmothers. = Mary MacSweney, dau. of Col. Owen MacSweney of Musgrey, and sister to Capt. Edmond MacSweney.

22. Major Philip O'Sullivan of Ardea, Co. Kerry, parish of Thououghsisty, by the River of Killmare and Barony of Glenarough in said County. = Joane McCarthy, dau. to Dermod McCarthy of Killowen, and the dau. of McCarthy Reak of Carbery. She had three brothers and one sister, viz.: —

22. Florence, or mac ffinnin, whose son retained the title of mac ffinnin.

22. Charles, who left two sons.

23. Derby = Ellina Sullivan of Bunnane.

23. Owen = Honora Mahony, dau. to Dinish Mahony of Droummere in the Barony of Dunkerrane or Cappenicussiss.

22. Owen, killed at the battle of Airim.

22. The sister = Dermod O'Sullivan, eldest son of Daniel O'Sullivan, Lord of Dunkerrane.

23. John Sullivan, of Berwick, Me.

23. "Her son Cornelius, as I understand, was with the Pretender in Scotland, in 1745."

TABLE II.

Letter of Philip O'Sullivan, 1796.

22. Major PHILIP O'SULLIVAN of Ardea, Co. Kerry. = JOHANNA, dau. of Derby McCarthy of Killowen, Esq. in said County.

23. OWEN O'SULLIVAN, went to America, about 1736, or earlier.

Connected with the most respectable familyes in the province of Munster, — particularly: —

The Count of Bearehaven,
McCarthy More,
Earl of Clincare,
Earl Barrymore,
The Earl of Thumond,
The Earl of Clencarthy,
McFinnan of Glanarough,
O'Donoughu of Ross,
O'Donoughu of Glyn,
McCarthy of Carbery,
O'Donovan, etc.

TABLE III.

Mr. Charles J. McCarthy.

22. Captain CHARLES MCCARTHY, whose sister married Major Philip O'Sullivan.

23. DARBY MCCARTHY = ... O'SULLIVAN of Bunnane.

24. ..... MCCARTHY = ...

25. ..... MCCARTHY = ... a great-granddaughter of Mortimer O'Sullivan of Glenarough, whose mother was McCarthy of Killoween.

25. JAMES MCCARTHY, born about 1780, went to Nova Scotia about 1810, is a great genealogist.

26. CHARLES J. MCCARTHY, 20 Court St., Boston, January, 1860.

TABLE IV.

Mrs. John Louis O'Sullivan, 1885.

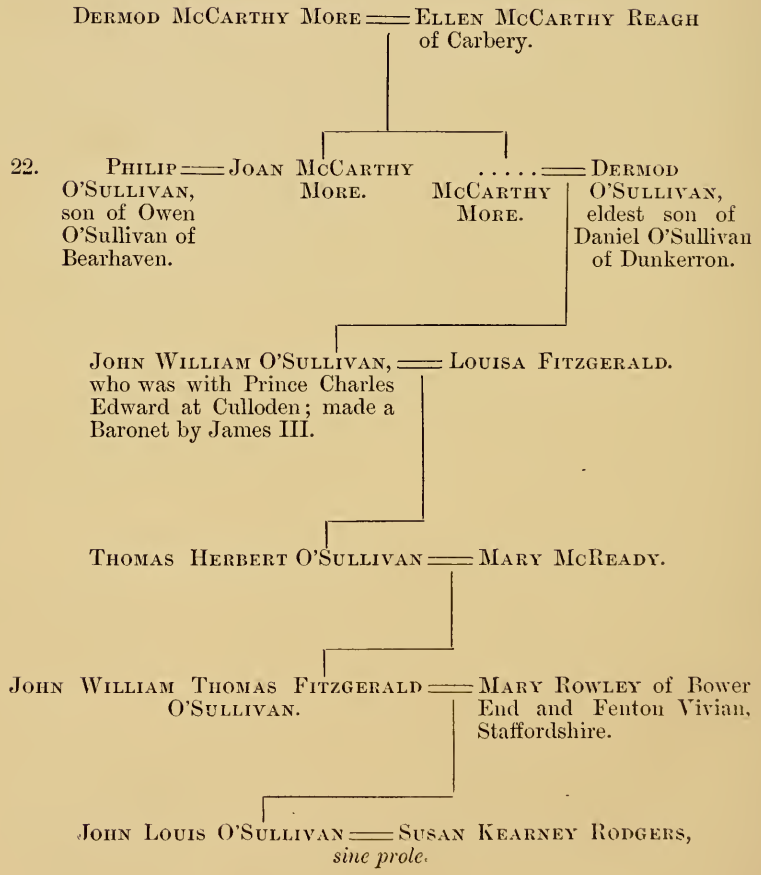

Dermod McCarthy More
Ellen McCarthy Reagh of Carbery.
22.
Philip O'Sullivan, son of Owen O'Sullivan of Bearhaven.
Joan McCarthy More.
..... McCarthy More.
Dermod O'Sullivan, eldest son of Daniel O'Sullivan of Dunkerron.
John William O'Sullivan, who was with Prince Charles Edward at Culloden; made a Baronet by James III.
Louisa Fitzgerald.
Thomas Herbert O'Sullivan
Mary McReady.
John William Thomas Fitzgerald O'Sullivan.
Mary Rowley of Bower End and Fenton Vivian, Staffordshire.
John Louis O'Sullivan
Susan Kearney Rodgers,
sine prole.

TABLE V.

Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan, 1860.

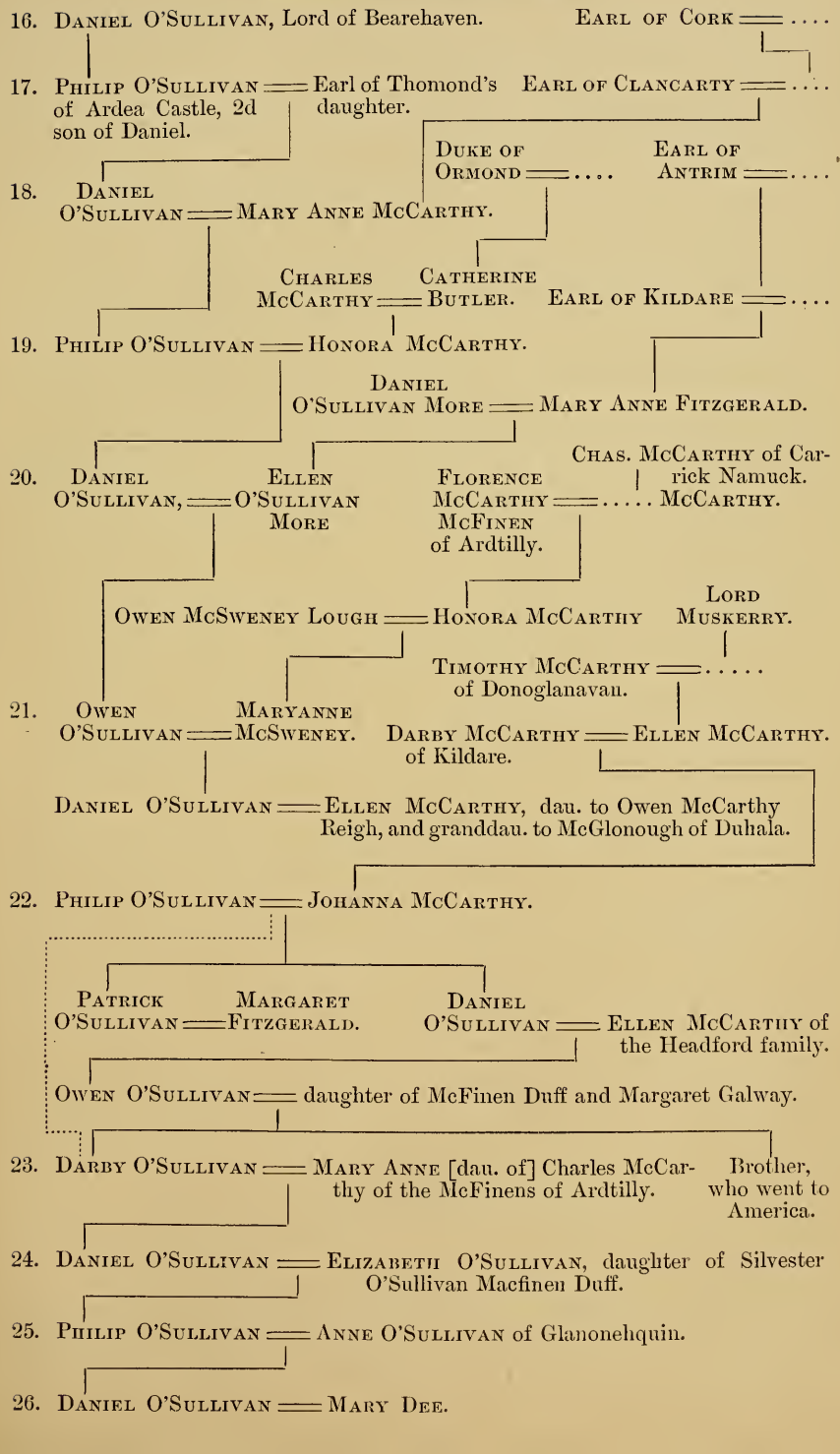


TABLE VI.

Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan.

16. Daniel O'Sullivan Bear. ["I have always heard that Sir Philip was son of Dermod." See page 105.] Earl of Cork = ...

17. Sir Philip O'Sullivan of Ardea Castle, 2d son of Daniel. = Earl of Thomond's daughter. Earl of Clancarty = ...

18. Donal O'Sullivan = Mary Anne McCarthy.

19. Philip O'Sullivan = Honora McCarthy, dau. to Charles McCarthy, Lord of Muskerry, who lived in Castles of Macroom and Blarney.

20. Donnel O'Sullivan = Ellen O'Sullivan, dau. to Daniel O'Sullivan More by Mary Anne Fitzgerald, daughter to the Earl of Kildare, and granddaughter to the Earl of Antrim.
[Sir Bernard Burke says, "Ellen, dau. of O'Sullivan More," was wife of Donal O'Sullivan (18). He suggests that *this* Donnel (20) may be the Daniel O'Sullivan who married Sarah O'Brien. See page 96.]

21. Owen O'Sullivan = Mary McSweney, daughter to Colonel Owen McSweney of Muskerry.

22. Major Philip O'Sullivan = Johannah McCarthy, daughter to Dermod McCarthy of Killoween by Ellen McCarthy, daughter to Timothy McCarthy of Donglaven, and granddaughter to Lord Muskerry.

23. Dermod O'Sullivan = Aileen McCarthy MacFinnen of Artully. 23. Owen O'Sullivan went to America.

24. Daniel O'Sullivan = Elizabeth O'Sullivan, daughter to Silvester O'Sullivan MacFinnen Duff of Dereen, Tuosist, by Elizabeth O'Donovan, dau. to O'Donovan of Banelahan by Ellen Fitzgerald, daughter to John Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry.

25. Philip O'Sullivan = Anne O'Sullivan, dau. to Daniel O'Sullivan of Glanenchaquin, Tuosist, who was of the Bunane family. 25. John. 25. Daniel. 25. Kerry.

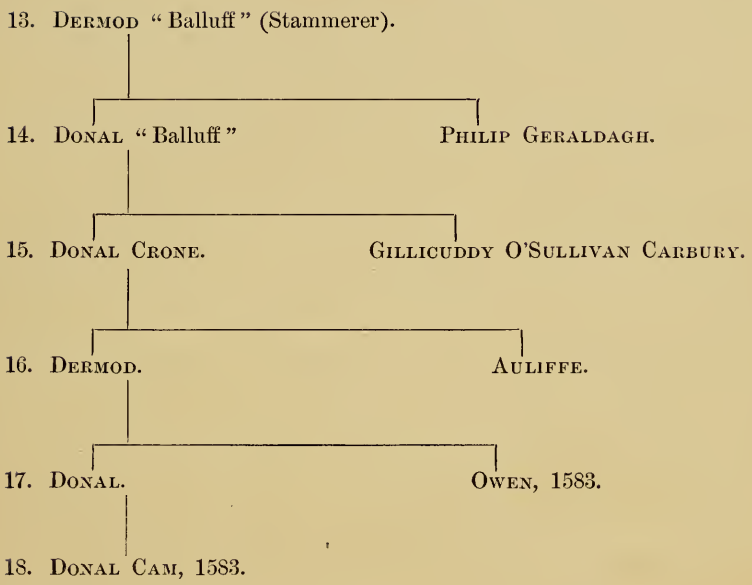
26. Daniel O'Sullivan = Mary Dee, sister to Revds. John and Michael Dee, who were parish priest of Tuosist, and after of Kenmare, about 1826. 26. Philip. 26. Owen. 26. Rev. Morty O'Sullivan, parish priest of Lisselton.

27. Mortimer Dan Philip O'Sullivan corresponded with Mr. T. C. Amory, 1876–82. = Elizabeth, dau. to Daniel O'Sullivan by Elizabeth McCarthy, dau. to Captain Felix McCarthy of Kilgarvan. Dan. John. Eliza. Another sister = ...

3 daughters, who hold Clounee, where is the house of Philip 25, where Dermod 23 died.

TABLE VII.

Mr. O'Herlihy.



Note by Mr. O'Herlihy.

Donal Crone (the purple-faced) is not to be confounded with Donal Cam, the hero of Dunboy, Glengariff, etc., and the Xenophon of the heroic war of 1595–1602. Donal Cam was the plaintiff in this suit, and was assassinated at Madrid, in 1618.

P. O'H.

TABLE VIII.

Sir Bernard Burke.

13. Tiege O'Sullivan, surnamed the Strong.

14. Dermod Balluff O'Sullivan. 8th Earl of Kildare = ...

15. Donel O'Sullivan, the Swarthy. Donel McCarthy Reagh = Lady Elinor Fitzgerald.

16. Dermod O'Sullivan, the Powdered, = Julia or Shela McCarthy. Cormac McCarthy of Duhallow = ...

17. Philip O'Sullivan of Ardea, Tanist. Died, 1606. = Honora McCarthy. Donough, i. e. the McDonough.

O'Sullivan More = ...

18. Donel O'Sullivan of Ardea Castle. = Ellen O'Sullivan More.

19. Philip O'Sullivan of Ardea Castle, forfeited, 1641.

21. Owen O'Sullivan = Mary, dau. of Owen McSweney, Constable of Munster.

Dermod McCarthy of Killoween = dau. of McCarthy Reagh.

22. Philip O'Sullivan, called "Major." = Joan McCarthy.

23. Patrick O'Sullivan Information of Mr. Murtogh O'Sullivan of Kenmare, 1887. = Margaret Fitzgerald.

Owen, b. Limerick, 1692. d. 1796, at Berwick, Me. = Margery Browne.

24. Daniel O'Sullivan of Ardea. = Juliana, dau. and heir of Daniel O'Sullivan of Dromboughilly.

25. Philip O'Sullivan, who wrote letter, 1796. John. Margaret. Julia. Mary.

We may now analyze briefly the result of this comparison. As far as Generation 12, Sir Bernard Burke's authority is neither disputed nor confirmed by the other witnesses.

At Generation 13 Mr. O'Herlihy presents a copy of a document in the Public Record Office, London, appended to certain legal proceedings, determined April 11, 1583, between two members — uncle and nephew — of the Sept of O'Sullivan Beare. According to this bit of pedigree, there was no Tiege the Strong. Dermod Balluff was Generation 13, and a second *Balluff* (Stammerer), Donal by name, takes his place in Generation 14.

At Generation 16 Mr. O'Herlihy is on Sir Bernard Burke's side, saying Dermod, while the Account and the Ardea Parchment say Daniel. Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan, however, being questioned, admits (Letter, page 83) that this "is equally puzzling to myself, as I have always heard that Sir Philip was son of Dermod." They all agree that the Ardea line sprang from a younger son of The O'Sullivan Beare in this generation. John of Berwick's giving this O'Sullivan Beare the name of Daniel — all the more if it is a mistake — is evidence that he was writing in his Maine farmhouse from a memory of the Parchment at Ardea.

Generation 17. Sir Bernard Burke says Philip married Honora, daughter of Cormac McCarthy of

Duhallow. Ardea says he married the Earl of Thomond's daughter.

Generation 18. Sir Bernard Burke says Donel married Ellen O'Sullivan More. The Ardea Parchment, in both reports of it, says Maryanne McCarthy; but Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan afterwards (page 83) admits that "Donal, son of Sir Philip, did marry daughter to O'Sullivan More."

Generation 19. Sir Bernard Burke gives no wife. Ardea says Honora McCarthy, daughter of Charles McCarthy of Muskerry.

Generation 20. Sir Bernard Burke (page 93) thinks he may be Daniel who married Sarah O'Brien. Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan says he *was* Daniel; Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan writes it Donnel; but both father and son say that he married Ellen O'Sullivan More.

Generation 21. From here onwards, probably Sir Bernard Burke's information was received from Mr. Amory, and has therefore no independent value. We do not know whether a copy of the Account had been sent to Ardea before Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan wrote from there in 1860. Both Mr. O'Sullivan and his son agree with John of Berwick that Generation 21 was Owen, who married a daughter of Owen McSweney, Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan making her name *Mary Anne;* his son, like the Account, saying *Mary*, and calling her father *Colonel*, and *of Muskerry*. Mr. Mortimer

O'Sullivan also says that this Owen O'Sullivan was known as Owen of the Four Countesses, because of his descent from four ladies of that rank, all of whom were buried at Kilmakilloge. We find that Kilmakilloge is "the old Church of the parish of Tuosist,"[1] the parish to which John of Berwick remembered that Ardea belongs. Mrs. John Louis O'Sullivan writes *of Bearehaven* after Owen's name; but this may be a slip of the pen, as we find it nowhere else.

Generation 22. Here the letter of 1796 directly confirms the Account as to "Major Philip of Ardea," his marrying Joane McCarthy of Killowen, and his son being the emigrant (at a date which does very well for John of Berwick); and also as to a connection with the Count of Bearhaven, with McCarthy of Carbery, and MacFineen of Glaneroght. Mr. Charles J. McCarthy confirms it with regard to Captain Charles McCarthy, brother of Johanna, having a son Derby, who married an O'Sullivan of Bunnane. Of course, as Mr. McCarthy had read the Life of James Sullivan before writing his letter, we cannot be sure that he means that he had independent knowledge of all these names, though there is nothing to show that he had not.

That there was a Philip of Ardea (22), that he married Johanna McCarthy, and that her mother also was a McCarthy, the Ardea Parchment affirms. Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan's report of it further agrees that this Philip (22) was son of Owen (21) — who married Mary

[1] History of Kerry, by M. F. Cusack, Boston, 1871, p. 412.

McSweney — and father of the emigrant; and that Johanna's father was *Dermod* McCarthy of *Killowen*. Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan reports Johanna's father as McCarthy of *Kildare*, and both he and the letter of 1796 give the Christian name as Derby instead of Dermod. It is possible that they consider Derby a "short" for Dermod. John of Berwick's statement that Johanna's mother was a McCarthy Reagh of Carbery, although supported by Philip's (25) assertion of some connection with that family, and repeated by Sir Bernard Burke, is denied by the two reports from Ardea, father and son alike making her daughter to *Timothy* McCarthy of Donglavan, and granddaughter to Lord Muskerry.

Generation 23. This is the place where there is most confusion. Sir Bernard Burke, to begin with, was probably misled by indistinctly reported information when he gave Patrick as the grandfather of Philip, who wrote the letter of 1796. His authority is "Information of Mr. Murtogh O'Sullivan of Kenmare, 1887." If this means Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan, it is a direct contradiction of his earlier letters, and also of his father's. We do not know of his writing to Mr. Amory later than 1882, and in the correspondence before that he had more than once distinctly said that Philip's (25) grandfather was Dermod (23). He had not mentioned Patrick at all. Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan gave Patrick, with his wife Margaret Fitzgerald and her ancestry; but immediately turned from them to Patrick's brother Daniel, and traced from *him* the descent to Philip (25). As Philip was Mr. Daniel

O'Sullivan's own father, here is firm ground from which to reckon backwards. Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan agrees with his son and with the letter of 1796 in making Philip (25) grandson to the emigrant's brother; but he makes that brother grandson to the brother of Generation 23 (Patrick), — great-grandson, that is, instead of son, to Generation 22 (Philip and Johanna). These two extra generations cannot be real. Not only does Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan ignore them, but the fixed dates will not allow space for them, nor for that other interpolation of a Daniel after Owen of Generation 21. Thirty years is the average for a generation. Dermod the Powdered (Generation 16) having died in 1549, his son (17) Philip must have been over fifty in 1600; (18) Donel, over fifty in 1630; (19) Philip, in 1660; (20) Daniel, in 1690; (21) Owen, in 1720; (22) Philip, in 1750; (23) Dermod, in 1780; (24) Daniel, in 1810; (25) Philip, in 1840; (26) Daniel, in 1870.

As a matter of fact, we know that Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan (26) died "at an advanced age" — which must mean more than fifty! — soon after 1860. It is clear that three extra names cannot be squeezed into the line. We discard, therefore, from Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan's list the two Daniels who married each an Ellen McCarthy, and the second one's son Owen, who married a MacFineen Duff. We put Darby, grandfather of Philip and brother of the emigrant, into Generation 23, as brother of Patrick and son of Philip and Johanna. Having done this, agreeably to the Account and to the letter of 1796, we turn to

Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan. He not only asserts that Philip and Johanna's son, brother of the emigrant and grandfather of Philip (25), was Dermod, — a name which we have already suspected to be equivalent to Darby (page 108), — but he gives Dermod's wife as Aileen McCarthy MacFineen of Ardtilly. Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan's Darby marries a McCarthy of the MacFineens of Ardtilly, — Mary Anne, unfortunately, but that is a small difference.

Miss Lizzie O'Sullivan denies altogether the existence of Patrick (23). "My ancestor," she says, "was Darby, brother to Owen, who went to America. . . . There were only two brothers; Darby was the eldest." *Darby* and *Derby*, of course, are merely two spellings of one sound, and Dermod is no doubt always pronounced Darmot, from which the transition would be easy to Darby. Philip, in 1796, wrote of the emigrant as Owen, and we have already quoted (page 71) Mr. Amory's opinion that Nannette said something to the same effect. None of the family in America or in Ireland seem to have counted this a difficulty. Excepting Mr. Amory's remark, there is no notice of it throughout the papers. The lost Owen of Ardea is allowed simply to reappear at Somersworth as John, and in the discussions of his origin he is called John and Owen indifferently. We cannot find that the one name is a translation of the other. Daniel and Donal are used interchangeably; so also Morty (for Mortimer) and Murtogh. Mortimer being pronounced Murtimer (not only in Ireland) helps the association, no doubt.

Generation 24. Sir Bernard Burke says that *James* Sullivan received the letter of 1796, that this was the year in which John of Berwick died, and that he married Margery in 1736. The careful reader will not need to be reminded that these are inaccuracies. Again, in the Irish line, Sir Bernard, having made Patrick the grandfather of Philip, gives as Philip's father a son of Patrick named Daniel, and adds without naming his authority several facts about this Daniel, viz.: that he married Juliana, daughter and heir of Daniel O'Sullivan of Dromboughilly, that he held the Dromboughilly lands, that he made his will in 1769, that it was proved in 1773, and that he was buried at Kilmakilloge. Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan and his father say that Philip's father Daniel married Elizabeth, daughter of Silvester O'Sullivan MacFineen Duff of Dereen.

Generation 25. Sir Bernard Burke ends the Pedigree with Philip who wrote the letter of 1796, giving him no wife, but a brother John, and three sisters. Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan mentions no brothers or sisters, but a wife, Anne O'Sullivan of Glanonehquin, who is also given by Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan. This last gives three brothers to Philip. It may be that Sir Bernard Burke's Philip is correctly traced from his grandfather Patrick, but that he is not our Philip at all, as Patrick, according to Miss Lizzie O'Sullivan, was no brother of Owen's. Her letter is as follows: —

Gortroe, Killarney, Co. Kerry,
June 29th, '92.

Dear Miss Meredith, — Your letter has been forwarded from Kenmare, and I write to say I shall be

happy to give you any information I possibly can relative to my family. . . . It was my father who corresponded with Mr. T. C. Amory in the years you name. . . . My ancestor was Darby, and brother to Owen who went to America (as shown by a letter written by my great-grandfather, Philip O'Sullivan, to America in search of his great-uncle). There were only two brothers. Darby was the eldest, and to him went the family papers, including the "title deed" and "seal," which have ever since been as carefully handed down to the eldest in succession as if they conveyed to them their right of property and title. These are in my father's possession.

In the deed are named the different town lands, etc. which the family possessed. The seal, which some consider the handsomest known, is round, and about five inches across, and perhaps more than half an inch in thickness; represents on one side the monarch on his throne, and on the other a knight in full armour on horseback. Photographs of these would, I dare say, be very interesting for your work, but I am sure my father would be unwilling to have it done unless he knew something of the branch of the family for whom you are getting up this pedigree, so many in Ireland claim to be O'Sullivan Beares who have no pretensions whatever to the name, and if we gave photos to strangers it would be furnishing them with proofs to a name and family they had no right to.[1] You will, I am sure, understand our wish to guard these relics of our family

[1] I had not, in writing to Miss O'Sullivan, told her for whom I was making out the pedigree. — Ed.

as carefully as possible, even though by doing so we may be burying them in oblivion.

. . . . . .

Owen, whom you count as 21, is, I think, usually styled Owen of the Four Countesses, and the Countesses are said to have been buried in a church some miles from Ardea Castle, and which is still the family burying place. Philip's Island in the Clounee Lakes gets its name from Major Philip, who is said to have lived there.[1]

My ancestor Darby lived to the age of one hundred and ten, and I believe his brother Owen in America lived to nearly the same age.

I would like to have been able to send you a photo of Ardea Castle. . . . It is very difficult to get it photographed, as the sea has worn away all the land in front of it, and it stands at present on the very edge of a high precipice. There is no attempt whatever made to preserve it, and it is, to my thinking, in worse preservation than any of the old castles in Kerry that I know.

I fear you will be disappointed at not getting more information in this letter, but I hope to make up for it later on.

I remain, dear Miss Meredith, yours very truly,

LIZZIE M. O'SULLIVAN.

From Mr. Amory's collection of books about Ireland we can make a rough outline of the story through which the pedigree runs. It is necessary to do this,

[1] This may be an error caused by confusing Philip (Generation 25), whose house still stands on the lands at Clounee, with Major Philip (Generation 22), whom his son in the account calls "of *Ardea*."

in order to see clearly the facts, probabilities, and questions which the pedigree presents. Some of our readers, no doubt, know enough of Irish history to fill many of the blanks which we are obliged to leave.

Suildhubhain (pron. Sooeeliavan), the Black-eyed,[1] with whom Sir Bernard Burke begins the genealogy, lived about 950 A. D.[2] "Previous to the time of the monarch Brian Boroimhé (pron. Boru) about the year 1000," says Professor O'Curry, "there was no general system of family names in Erinn, but every man took the name either of his father or of his grandfather for a surname. Brian however established a new and most convenient arrangement, namely, that families in future should take permanent names, either those of their immediate fathers, or of any person more remote in their line of pedigree."[3] In obedience to this decree we — so far as we are O'Sullivans — have been known for nine hundred years as "grandsons of Suildhubhain," *O*, Professor O'Curry tells us, being the Gaedhlic for "grandson," as *Mac* is for "son." Mr. O'Curry uses the word "Gaedhlic" (pron. Gaelic) to denote the language of the "Gaeil" in Ireland because they themselves did so; although in modern English the term is applied only to that branch of the race which forms the Celtic population of Scotland.

The word "Sept" for a tribe or clan proceeding

[1] See Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History, by Eugene O'Curry, M. R. I. A., Professor of Irish History and Archæology in the Catholic University of Ireland. Delivered at the University, 1855–56. Dublin, 1873.

[2] Burke's General Armory.

[3] Lecture X. p. 214.

[4] Lecture I. p. 3.

from a common progenitor seems to be related to the Anglo-Saxon *sib* (consanguinity, alliance), which has not yet — at least as an adjective meaning *akin* — vanished wholly from the English tongue.

The royal succession in Munster was not in direct line. King Oilioll Oluim, who died A. D. 234, commanded that the representatives of his two sons should thenceforward reign in turn. We are not, therefore, counting the *generations* from St. Patrick's time when we say that Finghin was the fourteenth Christian king. He was great-great-grandson of the King Ængus whom St. Patrick converted to Christianity early in the fifth century. Finghin had seven generations of descendants before Suildhubhain. On the value of the genealogies[1] to which Sir Bernard Burke refers us for these facts, it is worth while to consult again O'Curry's Lectures,[2] a book recommended by so trustworthy an historian as Professor S. R. Gardiner in his "English History for Students." It describes the principal manuscript Irish books now known to be in existence; gives an account of the older books copied or noticed in these; and sketches the history told and implied in both.

"Whatever," says Mr. O'Curry, "may be the opinions of modern commentators (all of them very ill-informed on the

[1] These genealogies are classified for easier study in a curious work entitled "Irish Pedigrees," by John O'Hart, Dublin, 1876. They give confidently the names, father and son, of one hundred and one generations between Adam and Suildhubhain. The thirty-fifth is Milesius, who lived in Egypt in the time of Solomon (according to the Septuagint chronology), and planned the invasion of Ireland which his sons accomplished. His son Heber, or Eber, was ancestor of Ængus.

[2] See note, page 114.

subject) as to the truth of the more remote genealogies before the arrival of the Gaedhlic colony in Erinn, I think I have given you the most solid reason to trust the records of the Gaedhlic genealogies from that, or at least from a very remote, time downwards, made and preserved as we know they were with the care prescribed by the laws." [1]

His account of the laws is as follows: —

"To obviate all difficulties in respect of the right of succession to the supreme rule, . . . the monarch of Erinn had always an officer of high distinction attached to his court, whose office it was to keep from generation to generation a written record or genealogical history of all the descending branches of the royal family. And . . . not only of these, but of the families of all the provincial kings, and of all the principal territorial chiefs in each province, in order that, in case of a dispute among them and a final appeal to the court of the chief king, he might be in a position to decide such a dispute by the solemn authority of a sure and impartial public record. This public officer according to law could only be elected from the order of *Ollamhs* (pron. Ollavs); and the *Ollamh* may be described as a doctor, or man who had arrived at the highest degree of historical learning and of general literary attainments under the ancient Gaedhlic system of education. Every *Ollamh* should also (according to the laws of the country, now popularly called the 'Brehon Laws') . . . know the boundaries of all the provinces and chieftaincies, and should be able to trace the genealogies of all the tribes of Erinn up to Adam. An *Ollamh* should also, according to the same law, be civil of tongue, unstained by crime, and pure in morals.

"The officer I have thus spoken of should be, then, an Ollamh thus qualified; and he was privileged, and bound, to

[1] Lecture X. p. 206.

make periodical visits to the provincial courts, and to the mansions of all the chiefs throughout the land; to inspect their books of family history and genealogies; to enter the names and number of the leading or eldest branches of each family in his own book; and on his return to Tara (or wherever the monarch might happen to hold his residence) to write these matters into what was of old called the Monarch's Book, but which in more modern times seems to have been designated the Saltair of Tara. . . . Every provincial king, and even every smaller territorial Chief, had his own *Ollamh*, or Seanchaidhé (pron. 'Shanachy,' = historian), . . . and in obedience to an ancient law (established long before the introduction of Christianity in the fifth century), all the provincial records and those of the various clann chieftains were returnable every third year to a great convocation or feast at Tara, where they were solemnly compared with each other and with the great Book or Saltair of the monarch, and purified and corrected where and whenever they required it."[1]

In the same Lecture Mr. O'Curry speaks of—

"about forty different great tribes of the line of Eber [son of Milesius] which existed in Munster in the sixth and seventh centuries [A. D.], all and each of whom held separate and peculiar territories of their own, which were again subdivided; and in these territories every man of the tribe who could prove his relationship had a legal share. And as the law and the custom were the same throughout all Erinn, it follows almost as a matter of necessity that the genealogies and pedigrees — the only proofs of title to the tribe lands — must have been kept with all the jealous care and accuracy we have ascribed to the compilation of records practically so important."[2]

[1] Lecture X. pp. 203, 204. [2] Lecture X. p. 213.

Ireland was never included in the Roman Empire, nor brought under the feudal system. In the eighth century, Mr. W. K. Sullivan[1] tells us: —

"The condition of Ireland was . . . eminently suited for the development of so elaborate and advanced a social and political organization as we find in the *Crith Gablach* [an ancient Irish law tract] and other ancient tracts. The whole energies of the country, which for three centuries previous to the arrival of St. Patrick were mainly directed to the conquest of the western shores of Britain and to piratical expeditions, were turned to religious life and missionary labours. The country abounded in wealth, the results of the pillage of former times, and the peaceful labours of the present. It was the fame of this wealth, especially the abundance of gold, which led the first Viking expeditions to the Irish shores. . . . I have no doubt that . . . [in the sixth and seventh centuries] the population was . . . about three millions. In those centuries and the following one considerable intercourse was carried on between Ireland, Britain, Gaul, and even Spain. . . . The culture of such men as Columbanus, Scotus Erigena, Virgilius, Dicuil, and many others, . . . — a culture which they had in great part acquired before setting foot on the Continent, — is a still more striking proof of the existence of a very advanced social and political life in Ireland at that period." (Pages xvi, xvii.)

"From the commencement of the Viking expeditions to Ireland at the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century, the political and legal organizations of the country began to be broken up, and . . . with the anarchy resulting from the almost continuous incursions of the Northmen and

[1] Introduction, by W. K. Sullivan, Ph. D., to O'Curry's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish." London, Dublin, and New York, 1873.

the weakening of the ties which bound the several clans or territories to each other and to the central power, the higher courts of law fell into desuetude, and the whole judicial organization became irregular and territorial." (Page xvi.)

When the French and Flemish adventurers descended on it from the coast of Wales, in the latter half of the twelfth century, the island was, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, "separated from the rest of the known world, and in some sort to be distinguished as another world." Henry II. established feudal law in the eastern part of the country, where his Norman English settled, and made a treaty with Roderick, King of Connaught, according to which Roderick as chief king of Ireland was to collect yearly from all the lesser kings and give to the King of England one merchantable hide for every ten cows in Ireland.[1] All that this treaty even pretended to effect was that the kingdom of Ireland should become tributary to the king of England. The Irish continued after it as before, "preserving their ancient Brehon law, and electing their chiefs and tanists, making war and peace with one another, and ruling all things between themselves by this law, until the reign of Queen Elizabeth."[2] Nevertheless, as Mr. Prendergast puts it, "from the days of the first invasion, the King and Council of England intended to make English landed proprietors in Ireland the rulers of Ireland, as William the Con-

[1] The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland, by John P Prendergast. p. 14. London, 1870.

[2] Quoted by Mr. Prendergast from "A Discoverie of the State of Ireland," by Sir John Davis, p. 603. London, 1613.

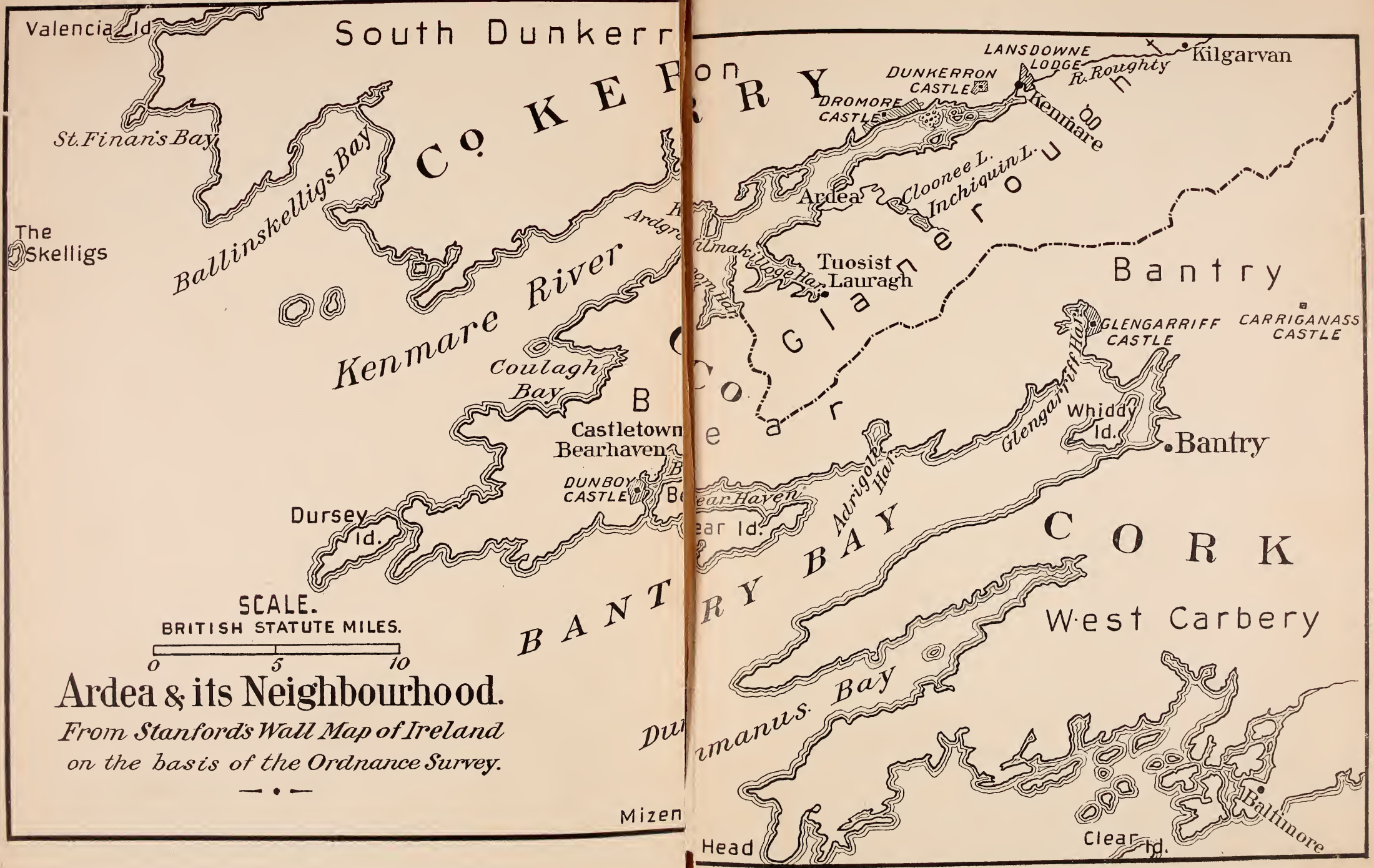
queror had made the French of Normandy landlords and rulers of the English.[1] Wars in Scotland and France, and the "Wars of the Roses" at home, interrupted the work for three hundred years, and during that time not only did the Irish make reconquests, but many of the English within the Pale (as the part of the country under English law was called), having intermarried with the Irish and learned to like their ways, began to throw off the feudal system.

There are no dates in the first page of our Pedigree, so that after A. D. 950 we cannot connect any of the early O'Sullivans with special historical events.

The first year given is 1498, when Philip of Generation 15 is marked as Chief of Beare. The five centuries and a half between him and Suildhubhain oblige us to give thirty-six years to each generation, which is too much. Perhaps this is why Sir Bernard Burke put no date here to Suildhubhain, although he had given one in his "Armory."

It is in the eighth generation that the title *Mor*, i. e. great, or chief, first appears, attached to the name of Donel. His eldest son's descendants retained it, and are still known as the line of O'Sullivan Mor. The younger son heads the other branches, O'Sullivan Beare and Mac Fineen Duff. His grandson is marked as first lord of Beare and Bantry. The O'Sullivans had at first occupied territory in Tipperary, but under pressure of the Norman invaders they withdrew to the Southwest. The map here given shows three of the four tongues of land into which Southwestern Ire-

[1] Cromwellian Settlement, Preface, p. xvi.



Ardea & its Neighbourhood.

From Stanford's Wall Map of Ireland on the basis of the Ordnance Survey.

land is split. The ocean is northwest and southeast of these peninsulas. The upper one of them (which is not on our map) is cut off from the others by Dingle Bay, the lowest one by Bantry Bay; the two middle ones are divided from each other by Kenmare Bay or River. Across these two middle ones, in the maps in Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors," the name of O'Sullivan is written as early as 1300. The O'Sullivan Mors were in the more northerly of the two, the O'Sullivan Beares in the other. The territory of the latter also spread east and south of the head of Bantry Bay. The western half of their peninsula seems to have been all that was called the country of Beare; all the rest of their land having been known as Bantry since the descendants of Beann, son of an Ulster king in the first century, settled there. They were called *Beanntraighe,* and their land after them. Beare received its name almost as early. Owen Mor, father of Oilioll Oluim (already mentioned, page 115), was King of Munster, and made himself, after many battles, king of the whole southern half of Ireland.

"He spent nine years in Spain, and the king of that country gave him his daughter Beara in marriage; on his return to Ireland, accompanied by Spanish auxiliaries, to make war against Conn, he landed on the north side of Bantry Bay, and he called the harbour Beara in honour of his wife. It is now called Bearhaven; the island that shelters it is called Great Bear Island, and the barony is also known by the name of Bear." [1]

[1] The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places, by P. W Joyce, A. M., M. R. I. A., p. 128. Dublin and Boston, 1870.

The barony of Glenerough or Glaneroght — it is spelt in many different ways — is east of Beare and north of Bantry. Its name is said to be derived from the river Roughty (Destruction), which empties into the head of the Bay of Kenmare.[1] "According to an ancient map in Boswell's Antiquities," writes Mr. Amory in his Master Sullivan of Berwick, "the territories of O'Sullivan Beare including Glanerough extended fifty miles from northeast to southwest by twenty in greatest breadth. Those limits embrace the Bay of Bantry, which in some places is ten miles wide."

We have noticed that Philip O'Sullivan, Generation 15, was Chief of Beare in 1498. This was in the reign of Henry VII. Our ancestor in that generation is Philip's brother Donal, whose son Dermod the Powdered married a granddaughter of the eighth Earl of Kildare, Lord Justice of Ireland. Kildare was in high favour with Henry VII. because of his great conquests over the native Irish; but his son, the ninth Earl, was suspected of seeking to extend rather his own than the English dominion, and died in the Tower of London. The grandson, "Silken Thomas," was executed at Tyburn, with five of his uncles, for treason. This was in 1537, under Henry VIII. The heir to the earldom, a young half-brother of Thomas, was kept out of King Henry's reach by the efforts of his aunt Eleanor, widow of McCarthy Reagh and

[1] See A History of the Kingdom of Kerry, by M. F. Cusack, pp. 366, 367. Boston, 1871.

mother of the wife of Dermod O'Sullivan the Powdered. After this, the English Cabinet determined that an Irish Parliament should confer the title of King of Ireland on the King of England. The Lord Justice, Sir Anthony St. Leger (now pronounced in Ireland Salenger[1]), accordingly summoned a Parliament, which in 1541 enacted that Henry VIII. "and his heirs for ever should have the style and honour of King of Ireland, and that it should be deemed high treason to impeach this title or to oppose the royal authority."[2]

A general submission followed, in which, as we see by the Pedigree, Dermod the Powdered joined. His four sons lived in the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, "when the new conquest of the lands of the Irish really began. . . . At first it was the native Irish that were stripped. . . . The Earl of Desmond's great territories, extending over Limerick and Kerry, Cork and Waterford, were next confiscated and planted."[3]

In the Calendar of the Rolls of Chancery we find that Queen Elizabeth, June 14, 1587, directed the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to accept a surrender from Sir Owen O'Swillyvan of the countries of Bear and Bantry, to which a claim had been made by Donnell M'Donnell O'Swillyvan, "nephew's son to the eldest brother of Sir Owen"; and upon the title of the latter (Sir Owen) having been ascertained to be valid, to

[1] See Four Masters at the year 1600, p. 2161, note.

[2] O'Donoghue's Historical Memoir of the O'Briens, p. 182. Dublin, 1860.

[3] Cromwellian Settlement, Preface, pp. xvii, xix.

grant him new letters patent, and to pass an estate to him and to his heirs male. "And being honoured with knighthood her Majesty intends further to extend her favour to him for his encouragement in continuance of his good and faithful service." [1]

This Owen was Dermod the Powdered's second son. The eldest, Donal, Sir Bernard Burke says, had been O'Sullivan Beare, i. e. Chief of the Sept, but had been deposed in favour of his uncle Eochy, on whose deposition by the English in 1593 he was restored. By what we have just quoted from the Patent Rolls it would rather seem that he had died before 1587, since his brother Owen had then already been some time in possession of his title and lands, which his son Donel was trying to regain. There is another letter in the Patent Rolls, dated June 5, 1593, which states "that there hath been of long time a suit begonne and continued by Donell O'Swillyvan against his uncle, Sir Owen O'Swillyvan, of the Beare, for the title and possession of the country of Beare and Bantry into which Donell hath alleged that his uncle Sir Owen made first entry thereunto after the death of Donell's father, being the elder brother of Sir Owen, and by that usurpation according to an Irish custom continued the possession thereof divers years." Donell farther complained that, "by the abetment of M'Carthy More now Earle of Clancarre," Sir Owen "came into England with M'Carthy and procured him to surrender his estate to her Majesty as though he had good right thereunto, and soe obteyned upon that surmise, and by the favoure of M'Cartie

[1] Calendar Patent Rolls, 1587, p. 140.

More, at the time M'Cartie was made Earle, letters patent from her Majesty of that country."[1]

Sir Owen's plea was that "the possession of that country hath commonly come collaterallye to the uncles of the sons of the lyneal line of Donell, affirming for proof thereof that there hath been in possession, besides himself, three that have been uncles to the children of the lyneal lyne, the which Donell alleged to have been by force when the nephews of the lyneal line were within age; and that was also done by the supportation only of the Earl of Desmond, whereby the partie was called 'O'Swylevan Gyraldaugh,'" etc. (See page 103, Table VII.)

After much pleading in England, in Ireland, and again in England, the allegations on either side still wanted proof. With the consent of the parties, therefore, a commission was sent to Sir Thomas Norrice, President of Munster, and others, to make inquiries on the ground. Donell and Sir Owen were dismissed also to return into Ireland, bound in great sums of money to obey the final sentence, whatever it should be. The Commissioners repaired into the countries of Beare and Bantry, and,

"calling before them all such persons as both parties could produce, they examined them upon oath, returned the depositions in writing, engrossed on sundry vellums of parchment being so great a length as to cause great time to be spent in perusing thereof."

At last the contestants were informed —

[1] Patent Rolls, 1594, p. 296.

"that the Queen had better title to those countries than either of them, though it had been long discontinued by the usurpation of the M'Carties, *after the Irish manner*, and upon consideration had of the proofs it seemed very doubtful unto which of them [Donell and Sir Owen] any title might be adjudged without scruple; To that end they were content to submit themselves to such division of the lands between them as her Majesty and we [the Commissioners] should best like of, and to accept the same from her Majesty by her letters patent."

The court decided as follows: —

"For the partition of the country, we find fit that Donell O'Swillyvan the plaintiff is lyneallie descended in five descents from Dermot Ballogh O'Swillyvan Beare, who was quietly possessed of the Castle of Beare, the haven, and a portion of the country round about, before any of the collateral line usurped upon their nephewes in the lyneal line, and the more part of the children in the lyneal line from Dermod was, for the more part, in quiet possession of the castle and countries adjoining.

"Therefore we do think it agreeable with right, that the castle and such portion of land as hath been usually held by him who had the castle, should be allotted to Donell, and the other part of the country called Bantry should be allotted to Sir Owen; and that in the division of the country, the same may be as equally divided as the Commissioners shall think convenient: saving that Phillip O'Swillyvan, brother to Sir Owen, and his Tanist, may have allotted unto him some portion in this division of the country called Ardea, where the said Philip hath, as we be advertised, present possession. . . .

"After long deliberation and divers conferences had with skilful men who are acquainted with every part of the country of Beare and Bantry; and having sundry times perused the

examination of the witnesses . . . it appeared unto us that the countries of Beare and Bantry contain but three score quarters in demesne and service, every quarter containing three ploughlands, whereof doth belong to the bishoprick of Cork eight quarters and to certain freeholders thirtythree quarters, so there is no more belonging to O'Swyllyvan and all his Sept of demesne in Beare and Bantry but nineteen quarters, whereof O'Swyllyvan had in continual and settled estate but five quarters; and the remaining nineteen [qu. fourteen?] was wont to be divided between him and his Sept, whereof sometimes his part was less and sometimes more, as his Sept increased or decreased. . . . We have . . . divided and plotted to the said Donell . . . the castle of Dunboy, the castle of Bearehaven, with the haven of Dunboy or Bearehaven and all the profits of fishings, customs, duties, and all other certain and uncertaine profits thereof, with the demesne lands before specified, . . . and also we have allotted unto him the rents, services, lawful duties and customes, due to O'Swylyvan, upon as much of Clanlawras as is on the west side of Adergoole, and the brook that runs by Kilcaskan into the river of Berehaven on the south, and on the west of the brook called Clashdromard[1] that runs under the castle of Ardea into the river Kenmarye on the north and soe directly from the head of both brooks: . . . our meaning is, nevertheless if any parcel of the lands of Ardea lie on the west of the brooke, that the same shall not be within the seigniory of the said Donell . . .

"And as the seat of the countrey of Bantrye, by reason of the continual access of merchants and strangers thither, and as Sir Owen's portion of demesne does not fall out to be fully as much as the Donnells is, we have been therefore induced to grant somewhat the larger allowance of service to Sir Owen . . . and further we allot and appoint to Sir Owen all the rent, service, lawful duties and customs due to O'Swylevan upon the

[1] Clash, *Clais*, a trench; *dromard*, a high ridge. Joyce.

remayne of Clanlawras as is on the east side of the two brooks . . . excepting out of this division the castle and lands of Ardea which contains in demesne land one quarter and the fourth part of a quarter, we allot and appoint for the portion of Phillip O'Swyllyvan and his heirs." [1]

A "quarter" of land was equal to 585 English acres.[2] The English acre, of course, is the same as that employed in the United States. The Commissioners' estimate, then, may be written thus:—

O'Sullivan Beare territory 35,100 acres, whereof belonged	
To the Bishopric of Cork	4,680 acres
To certain freeholders	19,305 "
To O'Sullivan Beare himself	2,925 "
To him and his Sept	7,458¾ "
To Ardea Castle	731¼ "
Total	35,100 acres.

The term quarter, quarter-bally, or quarter-land, is a translation of *Ceathramadh Bhaile*, and signifies the quarter of a *Baile-Biatach*, or town-land. The *Baile-Biatach* comprised twelve *Seisreachs* or ploughlands, so that a quarter of it contained three. The ploughland generally equalled one hundred and twenty acres, although in some counties it was more and in some

[1] Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland from the 18th to the 45th of Queen Elizabeth. By James Morrin. Vol. II. p. 298. Dublin, 1862.

[2] The English acre is 4,840 sq. yds.; the Irish, 7,865 sq. yds. Mr. W. K. Sullivan (Introduction, p. xcvi) estimates the ploughland at 120 Irish acres = 943,800 sq. yds., or 195 English acres. As there were three ploughlands in a quarter, the quarter must have contained 585 English acres.

less. In ancient Ireland, as among all early nations, the measurement of land was not so much geometrical as based on the relative produce of the soil. The *Seisreach* was the extent of land which occupied one plough.

Sir Owen O'Sullivan died in 1594. In the next year the Earl of Tyrone's rebellion broke out. Donal Cam (pron. Caum), the nephew to whom Sir Owen had been obliged to resign Dunboy and the chieftaincy, remained faithful to the English until the Spaniards landed at Kinsale. "Then he received foreign garrisons into his castles, and by a formal document still extant transferred his allegiance to the King of Spain."[1] The English sent O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, to attack him. The Earl on his way to Beare came to "the monastery of Bantry, in the territory of the sons of Owen O'Sullivan. The sons of Owen were assisting the Earl against O'Sullivan because the O'Sullivan had taken Dun-Baoi and Beare from their father by the decision of the Council beyond and here, and was accustomed to say that he should by right receive the rents of Bantry."[2] We are left to imagine which side was taken by Philip of Ardea and his two sons. Their castle of Ardea, like that of Carricknesse in Bantry, which belonged to the sons of Owen, was, during the war which now

[1] Preface, by Matthew Kelly, to Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium, a D. Philippo O'Sullevano Bearro. 1621. Dublin edition, 1850.

[2] Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, compiled in 1632–36 by the Four Masters. Edited and translated by John O'Donovan, LL.D. Dublin, 1854, p. 2305.

ensued with the English, in the hands of Donal Cam. On one occasion, we read: —

"Within two hours after the skirmish aforesaid was ended, the Rebels had intelligence that there was a Spanish patach landed the night before at the haven of Kilmokilloc, not farre from Ardea, in the Bay of Camnarra, shee was purposely sent from Spaine to know the estate of the Castle of Dunboy, whether it held still for the King of Spaine; some Irish passengers was in her, namely a Fryer *James Nelane*, a Thomond man belonging to Sir *Tirlogh O'Brien*, who had the charge of the treasure; *Owen Mac Eggan*, the Pope's Bishop of Rosse, and his *vicarius Apostolicus*, with Letters to sundry Rebels, and twelve thousand pounds, as the President was credibly informed by one called *Moylmurry Mac Edmond Boy Mac Swyny*, then a Rebell, who saw it, besides munition, which did put such a fresh spirit into the Rebels (who formerly were advising rather to breake and disperse than to endure a siege) as they solemnly vowed to persevere in the defence of the Castle, assuring the Messenger, (which they confirmed by their Letters) that they would hold the same until Michaelmas, within which time they prayed aid, which the Messenger confidently promised. . . . And likewise the said *Moilmurry*, saw foure great Boat loads of wine, munition and money, taken out of the patach, and carid on shore by *Osulevan Beare*, into the Castle of Ardea; but how much munition was brought he did not know, part thereof was presently sent to Dunboy, to encourage the Rebels."[1]

After the fall of Dunboy, January, 1602–3, — when, as the Lord Deputy Mountjoy wrote to the Council in England, "all that are out do seeke for mercy,

[1] Pacata Hibernia, p 551.

except *Orwrke* and *Osulevan*," — we find that "The Warders of the Castles of Ardea and Carricknesse, on the sixth of the same moneth, dispayring of their Master *Osulevans* returne rendered both their Castles and their liues to the Queenes mercy."[1] On a quaint map — reprinted from the "Pacata's" first edition — of the province of "Mounster," Ardrey Garnis appears in the neighbourhood of some truly terrible sugar-loaf mountains, about half-way between "Kan Mary" and "Kilmy Colle."

Donal Cam — like his youngest uncle, Dermod O'Sullivan of Dursey Island, who had fought against Elizabeth in all the Munster wars of her reign — escaped to Spain, where Philip the Second created him Count of Beare and Bantry.[2] Sir Bernard Burke writes it Count of Dunboy. In a State Paper of Queen Elizabeth's reign[3] mention is made of Sir Owen O'Sullivan's "house called Dunboye, otherwise Beare Haven," and the same expression occurs in the "Repository of James I.," 1612. Dunboy Castle is marked on modern maps[4] some distance south of the town of Bearhaven, although Dr. O'Donovan, in a note to the Four Masters (p. 2308), says, "There is no vestige of it remaining at present" (1854). Dunboy is pronounced Dunbwee, the Irish form of the word being *Dun-Baoi*, the fort of Baoi. The title

[1] Pacata Hibernia, Ireland Appeased and Redvced. London, 1633. Dublin edition, 1810, Vol. II. p. 660.

[2] See Letter from Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan, page 81.

[3] Carew MSS., No. 247, July 13, 1565.

[4] See Map facing page 121.

deed in Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan's possession (pages 77, 81, 84), which he believes Donal Cam to have left with Sir Philip on his flight into Spain, may, we suppose, be the letters patent of Queen Elizabeth confirming Donal's right to the lands allotted him by the Commission in 1593.

Donal Cam was assassinated at Madrid in 1618. Sir Bernard Burke in the Pedigree (page 92) says 1608, and Mr. T. D. Sullivan says the same in a note to his poem "Dunboy," although he is there professedly quoting from the contemporary "Catholic History" of Philip O'Sullivan, son of Donal's youngest uncle, Dermod. Our copy of this History (Dublin, 1850, p. 337) gives the date, as does Mr. O'Herlihy (page 103), 1618. Donal Cam's portrait in the "Sala of the Noble Irish," at the University of Salamanca, has an inscription painted on the canvas and legible in a photograph which we have of the picture: "O'Sullevanus Bearrus et Beantriæ Comes ætatis sua LIII., Christi vero Domini MDCXIII Anno." In 1618, then, he would be in his fifty-seventh year, at which age Philip O'Sullivan and Sir Bernard Burke agree that he died. We find a description of his portrait, signed T., in a newspaper cutting: —

"The figure and features are such as may be seen among the Sullivans of Beare and Bantry to the present day. The complexion is fair, the eyes blue, the hair brown, of a rather light shade, the body slight and tall, but of a good breadth across the shoulders. The painting shows him dressed in a rich Spanish armour, a plumed helmet on a table by his side; in one hand he holds a truncheon; the other grasps the hilt of his sword."

We have not been able to see Croker's book,[1] to learn what he says of the Seal which Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan believes James the First to have given to Sir Philip of Ardea (Generation 17). We have compared the drawing of one side of the Seal (sent by Mr. O'Sullivan to Mr. Amory and copied at page 81 of this book) with engravings of the Great Seals of the Kings of England in a book called "Old England," published in London about forty years ago.[2] The Great Seal of James the First is the only one that is at all like the drawing. It is so much like it that we should confidently pronounce them the same, if it were not that the engraving has on each side of the King, about at the level of his shoulder, a circle bearing the motto, "Honi soit qui mal y pense," and enclosing a shield with the royal arms. This we cannot find in the drawing. Also the small figure in the drawing, crowned, on the King's right, balancing the unicorn on his left, is not exactly seen in the engraving, although something is there, possibly intended to represent it, but blurred as if the seal were broken at that part. The only difference in the inscription is that the engraving gives the full word DEFENSOR, instead of the drawing's DEFE, with a fragment of the N following. The King's attire and pose, the shape of his throne and canopy, the position of his sceptre and ball, the outline of the platform at his feet, and

[1] See Letter from Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan, page 85.

[2] Old England, a Pictorial Museum of Regal, Ecclesiastical, Baronial, and Popular Antiquities. London, Charles Knight & Co., Ludgate Street.

the attitude of the unicorn, are all the same in the two pictures, and all of them different from what is shown in the seal of any other king. We speak with diffidence on a subject where we have no general information; but it seems, after this comparison, that Mr. O'Sullivan's seal must have been given, as he says, by James the First. To whom it was given may be doubtful, as Sir Philip (Gen. 17) died in the third year of James's reign, and his grandson Philip (Gen. 19) was over fifty before the reign ended. Why it was given is also unexplained. James, on succeeding to the throne just as the Earl of Tyrone's rebellion had been suppressed, proclaimed a general oblivion and indemnity, and announced to the Irish that they should thenceforth hold their lands as English freeholds instead of under the law of tanistry.[2] Sir Philip can have needed no benefit of these measures, since by the division of 1593 Ardea had been appointed for the portion of him and his heirs, unless indeed he had joined Donal Cam in the late rebellion. The Calendar of the Patent Rolls, at the year 1602, page 627, notes a "Pardon of all the inhabitants of the province of Munster," among whom is named "Donell O'Swyllivane, alias O'Swillvane bear." Donal Cam cannot have been pardoned. This Donell may have been his cousin, eldest son of Sir Philip. (We say *Sir* Philip for Generation 17, because Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan does; but we have no other evidence that he had been knighted.)

The next thing that we find is a "Petition" in the Patent Rolls, Vol. II. p. 301, dated November 19, 1613,

[1] Cromwellian Settlement, pp. 41, 42.

"of Donell Fitz Philip O'Swylivan" to the Lord Deputy for a copy to be given him of the proceedings in the division of O'Sullivan lands in 1593. He wanted it to prove his right to "the castle town and lands of Ardea in Beare," enjoyed in 1593 "as his inheritance by the petitioner's father"; for "the petitioner is impleaded by Owen O'Swylivan, son of the said Sir Owen, for the castle and lands, and his title rests upon the division." The Lord Deputy ordered a copy to be forthwith delivered to the petitioner, and Owen contented himself with the property of Donal Cam, of which he had lately had a grant.

Of the twenty-eight years after this we hear nothing. In 1641 came the great rebellion in Charles the First's reign. Whether or not it was an attempt on the part of the Irish to defend the King's cause against his Parliament, it failed, and Charles disowned it. But the Parliament's suspicion that he had instigated it made their vengeance on him and on the Irish all the more bitter. Donel Fitz Philip (Generation 18) must have been already dead by this time, since it is his son Philip whom we find to have forfeited Ardea. 1641 was followed by nineteen terrible years. The war between the Parliament and Ireland lasted for nearly twelve of them. Towards the end of the twelve many of the Irish gentry embarked for Spain. Some, prevented from going by care for their families, "returned to their former neighbourhoods, took up their abode in the offices attached to their mansions, or shared the dwellings of some of their late tenants, — their mansions being occupied by some English officer

or soldier, — and employed themselves in tilling the lands they had lately owned as lords." [1] This, however, was not long allowed. By an Act of Parliament "for the settling of Ireland," passed August 12, 1652, "all the Catholic nobility," says Mr. Prendergast (p. 97), "and many of the gentry, were declared incapable of pardon of life or estate, and were banished. The rest of the nation were to lose their lands, and take up their residence wherever the Parliament of England should order." The place decided upon was Connaught. From this decree, "all husbandmen, plowmen, labourers, artificers, and others of the inferior sort," were exempted; but man, woman, or child not of these favoured classes, if found on this side of the Shannon by May 1st, 1654, would be put to death. In February of that year Cromwell gave permission to have troops raised in Ireland for the service of any foreign country not opposed to the Commonwealth of England, and under this order 27,000 men left the kingdom in one year.[2]

We have no clue to the O'Sullivans' fate in all this confusion.[3] It is perhaps worth while to determine as far as we can the ages at the time of the representatives of the Ardea line by calculating back from the birth in 1690 of Dermod (Gen. 23), brother of John

[1] Cromwellian Settlement, by John P. Prendergast, p. 96.

[2] O'Donoghue's Historical Memoir of the O'Briens, p. 299. Dublin, 1860.

[3] There are in the Public Record Office, Dublin, fifty-six MS. volumes of the Books of the Commonwealth. One volume, marked I. E. 10, 115, is entitled "Forfeiting Proprietors, Listed." See O'Hart's Irish Landed Gentry, Preface. Dublin, 1887.

of Berwick. It will not make very much difference if (see page 53) John of Berwick himself was born in 1690, as that need only put Dermod a year or two earlier. Of course such a calculation assumes for the moment that the Ardea Parchment is right in making Owen of the Four Countesses grandson to Philip (Gen. 19). There are on this hypothesis six generations to find room for between 1690 and the life of Dermod the Powdered (Gen. 16), who died in 1549. To allow thirty years to a generation, we must make Sir Philip (Gen. 17) ninety-six years of age when he died in 1606. His son Donel of Ardea Castle (Gen. 18) must have been born in 1540; Philip of Ardea Castle (Gen. 19), in 1570; Daniel (Gen. 20), in 1600; Owen of the Four Countesses (Gen. 21), in 1630; Major Philip (Gen. 22), in 1660; and Dermod (Gen. 23), in 1690.

In 1641, by this reckoning, Philip, who forfeited (Gen. 19), was already over seventy, his son Daniel over forty, and Owen a boy of ten or eleven. The possible marriage, then, with Sarah O'Brien, a great-niece of the Earl of Thomond, would have taken place while Daniel O'Sullivan was still heir to the Castle of Ardea, with its "quarter and one fourth part of a quarter" of demesne lands. Her grandfather was Daniel O'Brien of Carrickgaholt, who at the Restoration of Charles the Second was made Viscount Clare, chiefly, it is said, for the sake of his grandson, Daniel O'Brien, Sarah's brother, who had "ventured life and fortune in foreign services for the sake of his exiled sovereign."[1]

[1] Historical Memoir of the O'Briens, p. 320.

As early as 1641 the Parliament had offered lands in Ireland, when it should be conquered, to any English who would "adventure" their money for the expenses of such conquest. Plenty of "adventurers" were found, and, the rebellion in Ireland being suppressed, they were not slow to claim their right. A survey was ordered that the forfeited lands might be equitably divided among these adventurers and the soldiers whose pay was over due. The contract to make the survey was obtained by an Englishman named Petty, who had come to Ireland as Physician General to the forces. He surveyed and divided with such skill that, having landed at Waterford in 1654, the owner of just five hundred pounds, he found himself before the Restoration able to see from the top of Mount Mangerton fifty thousand acres of his own land in Kerry, while outside of that county he had in land or securities three thousand pounds' worth more. The valuation of Kerry land by the government was £450 per 1,000 acres. The soldiers, before casting lots to determine in what province each regiment should receive lands for its pay, made another estimate, and valued Glanerought, because it was so mountainous, at no more than £250 per 1,000 acres,[1] or five shillings an acre. If this is the Irish acre, — 7,865 square yards, — that would make the Ardea property worth 112*l.* 10*s.*

On the return of the Stuarts, Cromwell's work in Ireland was for the most part allowed to stand. We

[1] Cromwellian Settlement, p. 214.

have, however, the following copy from the Carte Papers[1]: —

"CHARLES R.

"Right trusty and right welbeloved Cousins & Councellorˢ Wee greet you well. Having taken notice of the good endeavorˢ & affections of Colonell Daniel O Sullivane Beere of Beerehaven expressed on severall Occasions relating to Our Service in Ireland Wee have thought good to recommend him to you for favor in his humble suit to be repossessed of his Estate there; to the end that if you shall thinke it fit upon a true understanding of his Case & condic̃on you will cause him to bee forthwith restored to soe much of his Estate Lying in Our Province of Munster as is not in the possession either of Souldiors or Adventurers. And what proporc̃on soever

[1] Vol. XLI. p. 290. The Carte Papers, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, are two hundred and seventy volumes of manuscripts collected by the Rev. Thomas Carte as material for his "Life of the Duke of Ormonde," and for his "History of England." Carte, born in 1686, the son of a Warwickshire vicar, was himself a clergyman, and reader of the Abbey Church at Bath. He lost this preferment by refusing to take the oaths on the accession of George I. He was a strong Jacobite, and was compromised in the Rebellion of 1715 and the Atterbury Conspiracy. On this account he fled to Paris, where he lived under the assumed name of Phillips until he was permitted to return in 1728. He then began to prepare the "Life of Ormonde," which was published in 1735-36. He followed it with a general "History of England," of which, however, he was only able to print three volumes, reaching to the year 1613. It is not likely that all the manuscripts he collected became his own property. Before his death a large part of them had already been transferred to the Bodleian, probably by direction of their real owner. His widow, when he died in 1754, sent other volumes, and finally, by her will and an arrangement with her second husband, the whole remainder followed. See "THE CARTE MSS., — a Report presented to the Right Honourable Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, by C. W. Russell, D. D., and J. P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister at Law, Commissioners for selecting Official Papers for transcription from the Carte Manuscripts." London, 1871.

shalbee in their hands, that every such Person bee reprised and hee restored unto what was his owne. And as there shalbee cause that you authorise him to receave the rents and meane proffits of his Lands from the 24th of June last; and if any part thereof bee put in danger that you give order for the discharging of it.

"And soe Wee bid you farewell.

"Given at Our Court at Whitehall the last of January 1660.

"By his Majs Comand

EDW: NICHOLAS.

"Colonell O Sullivane for restoring his Lands in Ireland.

"*Indorso:*

"To our right trusty & right welbeloved Cousins and Councellors Our Lords Justices of Our Kingdom of Ireland or other Our Chief Governor or Governors of our said Kingdome for the time being."

Cronnelly, in his "Irish Family History,"[1] introduces a copy in modernized English of the above recommendation by the statement that "Colonel Donal O Sullivan Bere having lost his estates for his adherence to the house of Stuart, petitioned the King on the Restoration, praying to be restored to his lost possessions." Cronnelly also adds the following paragraphs: —

"[Original indorsed:]

"Sheriff of the County of Kerry, to put Colonel O'Sullivan Bere in possession of his estate in that county, not in the hands of adventurer or soldier.

"By the Lords Justices of Ireland,
Maurice Eustace, Cane, Avery, Mountrath.

[1] Dubli. 1865, p. 243.

"These are to wit and require the High Sheriff of the County of Kerry for the time being, forthwith to establish Colonel Daniel O'Sullivan Bere in the quiet possession of all such his estate, lying in the County of Kerry, aforesaid, as is not in the hands of adventurers or soldiers, for adventures or arrears, and also to authorize him, the said Colonel Daniel O'Sullivan Bere, to receive the rents and main profits of the lands, hereby ordered to be restored unto him since the 24th of June last, according to the purport of his Majesty's letters to us of the last of January last, a copy whereof is hereunto annexed, and for so doing this shall be sufficient warrant. Given at Dublin, the eleventh day of March, 1660, in the thirteenth year of his Majesty's reign.

"[Directed:]

"High Sheriff of the County of Kerry to establish Colonel Daniel O'Sullivan Bere in the quiet possession of his estate in that county not in the hands of adventurers or soldiers."

It is not clear who this Colonel Daniel was. If he is rightly described as "of Berehaven," he was probably a grandson of that Owen — son of Sir Owen — who obtained in 1612 a grant of Donal Cam's lands (page 91). Yet in that case why have we the order for the restoring of his lands in *Kerry* only, and not also in Cork? If the county limits were at all as they are now, by far the greater part of his possessions must have been in Cork. Unless, indeed, like his grandfather in 1613, he was disposed to claim all the territory of the O'Sullivan Beares. But we have no other evidence that there was any such Daniel of Berehaven. If King Charles's letter refers to Daniel of Ardea (Gen. 20), we may take it as some slight support to

the theory of the O'Brien marriage.[1] The restoration of Daniel's lands might be recommended because of his connection with Sarah O'Brien's brother, whom the King was anxious to honour.[2] The order from the Lords Justices to the Sheriff of the County of Kerry commands, it will be noticed, only the establishing of Colonel Daniel O'Sullivan Bere in "all such his estate . . . as is not in the hands of adventurers or soldiers." Ardea's "one quarter and the fourth part of a quarter" had no doubt been included in the fifty thousand acres lately acquired by Sir William Petty.

Petty, far from falling with the Commonwealth, had received from the King an appointment as Commissioner of the Court of Claims, with a special intimation that in the new Act of Settlement his deficient claims should be made good.[3] His ownership of the Kerry lands, however, seems to have been for some years little more than nominal. Already as early as 1656 the Order Books preserved in Dublin Castle show a complaint "That Irish Papists who had been licensed to depart this nation, and of late years have been transplanted into Spain, Flanders, and other foreign parts, have nevertheless secretly returned into Ireland with arms, occasioning the increase of Tories and other lawless persons."[4] And that some of these returns had

[1] In O'Hart's "Irish Landed Gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland," (p. 134, Dublin, 1887,) Sarah O'Brien is said to have married Daniel O'Sullivan Beare. In Sir B. Burke's "Sketch," it is put Daniel O'Sullivan merely.

[2] Historical Memoir of the O'Briens, p. 320.

[3] History of the Kingdom of Kerry, p. 274.

[4] Book A—5, p. 349, quoted by Mr. Prendergast, Cromwellian Settlement, p. 341.

been made into Kerry, we infer from a "Report on the State of Kerry, A. D. 1673, May 27th," signed by Lord Herbert of Cherbury (nephew of George Herbert the poet), and others, Justices of the Peace for the County of Kerry. It is printed in Sister M. F. Cusack's "History of the Kingdom of Kerry," p. 282, and there referred to the "15th Record Report, p. 670, MSS. Vol. M, Birmingham Tower, Dublin Castle." It may be worth while for us to glance at a paragraph here and there: —

"We have considered the state and condition of the three baronies of Iveragh, Dunkerron, and Glanerought, . . . unto which we consider the condition of Beare and Bantry to be very like. . . .

"The waies . . . are the worst of all Ireland, impassable in the winter-time, and requiring an hour's riding, with much trouble and danger, for each mile. . . .

"The said county aboundeth with unnecessary priests and officers and friars, . . . and with youth learning of needless Latin instead of useful trades.

"The country is so thinly peopled that there are above 66 acres English of land for every man woman and child that is within it; and these so poor that till very lately there was not in them ten houses of two chimneys in each. . . .

"This country was, by the last powers that subdued it, laid waste for many years, so as it was death for any man, woman or child to be seen in it. . . .

"The Irish of this country are all branches of a few families, and chiefly of the Sullivans and Carties; but most of the Sullivans, they having been of late proprietors of most of the lands here, as may appear by the surveys on record; and this certain, the three chiefs of the Sullivans themselves — namely, O'Sullivan More, O'Sullivan Beare, and Gillicuddihy

— although neither of them were adjudged innocent, nor have any benefect of the late Act of Settlement, do nevertheless *viis et modis* enjoy considerable parts of their late estate and that without paying quit-rent to his Majesty for the same, as even innocents are obliged to do, whereby they are able to engage great numbers of their name and families to assist them in such their progresses and intrusions. Besides the last of these three hath lately acted as a justice of the peace himself, while the English to whome these lands are passed in certificates, cannot legally come by them. Patents have been stopped from passing upon such certificates."

The Report also mentions —

"The countrey 's being infested with the enemy's shipping, and their being tempted to favour piccaroons in the remoteness and fastness of the country, its situation on the ocean and the multitude of its creeks and harbours, the poverty, thinness and insolence of the people, as also their confederate ill will towards those who have gotten their lands, together with their plenty of cattle, which are a refreshment to such shipping, and lastly the faire excuses they can make for so doing, as that they were surprised at their fishing and forced to ransom themselves with a little fresh meat," etc.

How long this lawless condition lasted we cannot say. Whether King Charles's letter of 1660 refers to Daniel of Ardea or not, we may imagine that he, or his son Owen of the Four Countesses, was one of the old proprietors who had come back. Indeed, Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan tells us (page 80) that Owen built the family tomb at Kilmakilloge; and, if so, it must have been in this interval between 1660 and his death that he did it, as before 1641 he was a child, and during

the years of the Cromwellian Settlement he can hardly have expected his family to need a tomb in his native land! Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan also says (page 79) that Dermod (Gen. 23) was "the last who held Ardea. It was," he adds, "in the survey of Sir William Petty he lost it, as he would not consent to pay taxes, which he was unaccustomed to do before, and would not submit to then!" His losing it in the survey means, of course, in later proceedings consequent on the survey, as this was ended and Sir William Petty had written its complete history before he made his will in 1685, whereas Dermod was not born until about 1690. In 1692 Sir William Petty's daughter Anne married the Earl of Kerry. She had two brothers, who both died childless. One of her younger sons, John Fitzmaurice, father of the first Marquis of Lansdowne, was made their heir, and in this way Ardea comes to be part of the Lansdowne estate. It may well have been only when Dermod (Gen. 23) was grown up that the management of the property was Anglicized to the degree which he resented. Could it have been at this time that his brother Owen, our John of Berwick, left the country altogether? Their father, Major Philip, must have died before 1700, since John did not remember him, and reports the cause of his death with "They told me." (See page 63.)

Cronnelly[1] quotes Windele as saying that —

"In Smith's time [about 1750] the principal family of the [O'Sullivan] name was that of Mac Fineen Duff, whose resi-

[1] Irish Family History, p. 242.

dence was near the Kenmare river; and in the same neighbourhood Weld found a few years since a representative of the Ardea branch in great indigence, but possessed of many smoke-dried family documents. Some few less elevated branches of the race escaped, with comparatively better fortune, amidst attaints and discoveries; and many of them at this day occupy a respectable station in their native district."

In "Old Kerry Records,"[1] Miss Hickson says that Ardea Castle "in Smith's time was occupied by a Mr. Coote." We regret not having seen Smith's "Ancient and Modern State of Kerry."

We quote from Mr. Henry Winthrop Sargent's itinerary: —

"Aug. 24. — Leave Cork in posting-carriage at 9.30, passing through the finest possible scenery. . . . About 1 reach Inchigeelagh to lunch. . . . Soon after starting at 2 pass the lake of Gougane-Barra . . . and enter the far-famed pass of Keeiman Eigh, perhaps one of the wildest and most savage in the world, about 2 miles long, and celebrated as the place where the O'Learys and the O'Sullivans after they were outlawed, lived for centuries, preying upon strangers and their neighbours, and where the illicit distilleries are even now concealed. . . . Proceeding round the head of the beautiful Bay of Bantry, reach Roche's Hotel at Glengariff at 8 P. M. having posted 66 miles from Cork. . . .

"Aug. 26. — Leave Glengariff at 9, in posting-carriage, passing Cromwell's Bridge and ascending the mountains for 4 miles, until, after passing through a tunnel 600 feet long, you come suddenly upon the Kingdom of Kerry, the whole prop-

[1] London, 1872, p 238.

erty for 20 miles belonging to the Marquis of Lansdowne. Arrive at 12.30, through the most sublime views of the Killarney and Kerry Mountains, at Kenmare." [1]

We shall end with a description of the Castle at Ardea by one of John of Berwick's descendants. She saw it in 1878, and now writes for us as follows: —

"Ardea Castle is situated on the side of one of the most picturesque estuaries in Ireland, Kenmare Bay, about seven miles from the town of Kenmare. The bay is long and narrow, and the rough and hilly shores descend with high cliffs to the water's edge. Leaving Kenmare and going to Ardea, the road at first is well kept and well travelled, but gradually becomes wilder, until it is nothing but a cart-track over the green turf. Then, passing through bars into a cow-pasture, one finds the ruins of Ardea Castle, far from any other habitation and directly on the edge of the precipice overhanging the sea, into which part of the castle has already fallen, and which is gradually undermining the rest. But little is left to determine the exact age or plan of the structure, but judging from the thinness of the walls it never could have been a fortress of sufficient strength to resist artillery, but probably afforded ample protection against the sudden inroad of a hostile sept. There is no vestige of roof or chimney, the outer circle of walls are grass-grown mounds. Inside the large inner hall the cows were grazing peacefully on the thick greensward. The sea birds, disturbed by the unwonted sight of human beings, flew wildly about, enhancing the sense of desolation and ruin. Our guide told us of the local tradition that the mortar of Ardea was mixed with bullock's blood to make it enduring; and also of the proud Countess who had

[1] Skeleton Tours, p. 8. New York, 1870.

married the Lord of Ardea, and for whom a cow a day had to be slaughtered to furnish her table with a certain dainty morsel which was the only thing that she would eat. While listening to these tales, we admired the lovely view of the ocean, the noble bay, and the Kerry mountains on the opposite shore."

John Sullivan of Berwick, New England, and his Children, Grandchildren, and Great-grandchildren.

FIRST GENERATION.

JOHN SULLIVAN.

b. Limerick, Ireland, June 17, 1690.
d. Berwick, Me., Saturday, June 20, 1795.

Was probably christened Owen, and so called until he came to America. Emigrated about 1723. Landed at York, Maine. Settled at Berwick, where he farmed, drew deeds, and was the schoolmaster until he was ninety years of age.

m. about 1735,
MARGERY BROWNE,
b. Cork, Ireland, 1714.
d. Berwick, Me., 1801.

SULLIVAN.

BENJAMIN, b. about 1736. Served in the Royal Navy, and was lost at sea before the American Revolution. No marriage mentioned.

DANIEL, b. Berwick, Me., about 1738. d. 1781. Settled at New Bristol, now Sullivan, Me. Served as Captain in the Revolutionary Army in the War of Independence. His house at Sullivan was burned by the British, and he taken from it to spend six months in the Jersey prison-ship. He died on his way home after his release. m. 1st, York, Me., Mar. 24, 1758, **Anne Paul** of York. She and her child died early. m. 2d, Fort Pownall, Waldo Co., Me., June 17, 1765, **Abigail Bean** (dau. of John Bean of York, who, with others, obtained the grant of land where Sullivan now is).
b. d.

JOHN, b. Berwick, Me., Feb. 17, 1740. d. Durham, N. H., Jan. 23, 1795. Major General in the Revolutionary Army during the War of Independence. First President (Governor) of New Hampshire. Practised law at Durham. m. **Lydia Worcester**. b. Oct. 14, 1738. d. Mar. 22, 1820.

JAMES, b. Berwick, Me., 1744. d. Boston, Mass., Dec. 10, 1808. Judge of the Superior Court, Attorney General, and in 1808 Governor of Massachusetts. Lived at Saco, Me., Groton, Mass., and Boston. m. 1st, **Mehetable Odiorne** of Durham. b. Durham, N. H., June 26, 1748. d. Boston, Mass., Jan. 26, 1786. m. 2d, **Martha Langdon**. b. 17 . d. Boston, Aug. 26, 1812. No children. She had before married, 1st, Barrell; 2d, Simpson.

had 6 children

MARY, b. Berwick, Me., 1752. d. Strafford, N. H., autumn of 1827. m. May 4, 1768, **Theophilus Hardy** of Durham. Lived at Durham, near her brother, General Sullivan.

EBENEZER, b. Berwick, Me., 1753. d. Charleston, S. C., 1799. Served as Captain in the Revolutionary Army in the War of Independence. Practised law at South Berwick. m. **Abigail Cotton** of Portsmouth, N. H.
b. d.

FIRST GENERATION.

DANIEL SULLIVAN.

b. Berwick, Me., about 1738.
d. 1781.

Moved to New Bristol (now Sullivan), Me., before 1762. Served as Captain in the Revolutionary Army. Was taken by the British and his house burned, Feb. 24, 1781; after being kept for six months in the Jersey prison-ship he was released, and died on his way home.

m. 1st, York, Me., Mar. 24, 1758, ANNE PAUL of York. They had one child named Anne Paul, b. Dec. 10, 1760; mother and child soon died.

m. 2d, Fort Pownall (now Prospect), Waldo Co., Me., June 17, 1765, ABIGAIL BEAN, b. 1747, d. April, 1823, aged 81, dau. of John and Hannah Bean. Her father, with others, obtained the grant of land where Sullivan now is.

SECOND GENERATION.

SULLIVAN.

RACHEL, b. Dec. 10, 1766.
d. Aug. 10, 1806.
m. **John Simpson** of Sullivan, Me.
b. Dec. 7, 1763.
d. Nov. 20, 1798.
He was master of the schooner *Rachel*, and was lost off Cape Cod with all his crew.

JAMES, b. 1768.
d. Aug. 28, 1830.
m. **Hannah Preble** of York.
b.
d. Ap. 17, 1856, aged 81. No children.

HANNAH, b. March 4, 1770.
d. July 24, 1849.
m. March 11, 1804, **Paul Simpson** of Sullivan, Me.
b. July 6, 1776.
d. Sept. 1, 1840.

MARY, b. 1773.
d. Apr. 28, 1857.
m. 1792, **Josiah Simpson** of Sullivan, Me.
b. about 1773.
d. Petit Menan (where he was light-keeper), April , 1833.

LYDIA, b. March, 1775.
d. Sullivan, Me. Dec. 2, 1851, unm.

JOHN, infant, date of birth and death unknown.

THIRD GENERATION.

SIMPSON.

PRUDENCE, b. Feb. 4, 1790; d. Jan. 18, 1812, unm.
ABIGAIL, b. July 18, 1791; d. Mar. 17, 1809, unm.
RACHEL SULLIVAN, b. Sullivan, Me., April 22, 1793. d. Sullivan, Me., Sept. 2, 1844.
m. Nov. 15, 1815, Hiram Emery. b. Berwick, Me., June 19, 1786; d.
MARY ANN, b. Nov. 22, 1794; d. March 16, 1797.
JOANNA, b. July 7, 1797; d. May 4, 1851.
m. Nov. 15, 1816, Barney S. Bean of Sullivan. b. Mar. 11, 1790.
MARY ANN, b. Mar. 6, 1798; d. April 18, 1868.
m. Feb. 8, 1823, Jason Lord — lived at Sullivan.

SIMPSON.

SUSAN, b. Dec. 24, 1806; d. Aug. 28, 1870.
m. Feb. 27, 1842, Nahum Berry — lived at Lamoine, Me.
PAUL, b. Aug. 16, 1809; d. Aug. 8, 1849.
m. June 2, 1839, Hannah T. Dyer — lived at Sullivan, Me.

SIMPSON.

ESTHER, b. Feb. 20, 1793; d. March 1862, unm.
HANNAH, b. Feb. 21, 1795; d. May 21, 1868.
m. Jan. 19, 1813, Robert Berry — lived at Lamoine, Me.
JOHN, b. Sept. 13, 1796; d. Castine, Me., April 2, 1860.
m. 1st, Jane McKeen. m. 2d, Mrs. Mary Brooks.
JOSIAH, b. May 1, 1798; d. Sept. 23, 1863.
m. Nov. 1824, Susan Giles — lived at Belfast, Me.
DANIEL S., b. May 7, 1800; d. Nov. 21, 1826.
MARY S., b. Aug. 3, 1802; d. Factory Point, Manchester, Vt., May 29, 1883.
m. Alexis Morrill, b. ; d. 1872.
JAMES, b. Feb. 29, 1804; d. Nov. 1858 — lived at Chelsea, Mass.
m. 1st, Dec. 20, 1832, Mary H. Smith. m. 2d, Lydia Warren.
JOANNA, b. May 14, 1806; d. Wisconsin — no date given.
FRANKLIN E., b. April 22, 1808. Died at sea with his brother James.
HIRAM E., b. Aug. 22, 1810; d. May 3, 1816.
ELISHA M., b. Nov. 15, 1811; d. May 17, 1813.
EBEN B., b. April 5, 1813; d. May 1, 1841.
m. 1835–36, Maria Moore — lived at Steuben, Me.
GREENLEAF P., b. Oct. 16, 1815; d. Feb. 4, 1823.

FIRST GENERATION.

JOHN SULLIVAN.

b. Berwick, Me., Feb. 17, 1740.
d. Durham, N. H., Jan. 23, 1795.
Major General in the Revolutionary Army during the War of Independence. First President (Governor) of New Hampshire. Practised law at Durham.
m. LYDIA WORCESTER.
b. Oct. 14, 1738.
d. Mar. 22, 1820.

SECOND GENERATION.

SULLIVAN.

MARGERY, b. Feb. 2, 1761.
d. April 10, 1764.

LYDIA, b. Berwick, Me., March 17, 1763.
d. April 9, 1842.
m. Jan. , 1788, **Jonathan Steele.**
b. Sept. 5, 1760.
d. Sept. 3, 1824.
He was Judge of the Supreme Court of N. H.

JOHN, b. Oct. 29, 1767.
d. Baton Rouge, La., 1819, unm.

JAMES, b. Sept. 1, 1769.
d. Georgetown, S. C., July, 1796, unm.

GEORGE, b. Aug. 29, 1771.
d. June 14, 1838. He was Attorney General of N. H.
m. 1st, **Clarissa Lamson.**
b. d.
m. 2d, **Philippa Call** of Newburyport.
No children.

MARGERY, b. 1775.
d. 1777.

THIRD GENERATION.

STEELE.

MARGERY SULLIVAN, b. Aug. 5, 1788. d. Jan. 15, 1807.
JANET, b. June 14, 1791. d. 1869, unm.
LYDIA, b. Sept. 3, 1794. d. June 30, 1799.
RICHARD, b. Jan. 6, 1797. d. 1870.
m. 1st, Harriet King Pierce. b. 1804.
d. April 11, 1823.
m. 2d, Mary Amanda Smith. b.
d.
JOHN, b. April 9, 1799. d. Sept. 8, 1800.
MARGARET, b. Dec. 29, 1801. d. Mar. 4, 1803.
CAROLINE, b. Sept. 1, 1804. d. April 9, 1806.
JONATHAN, b. June 25, 1803. d. Aug. 28, 1819.

SULLIVAN.

JOHN, b. May 23, 1800. d. 1862.
He was Attorney General of N. H.
m. Sept. 3, 1832, Olivia Rowe of Exeter, N. H. b.
d. Boston, Jan. 7, 1875.
MARTHA LAMSON, b. Jan. 11, 1802. d. Jan. 22, 1831.
CLARISSA LAMSON, b. Aug. 9, 1804. d. Sept. 18, 1809.
LYDIA, b. Oct. 4, 1806. d. June 2, 1849.
m. March, 1844, David A. Gregg of Derry, N. H.
b. d.
GEORGE, b. Oct. 18, 1808. d. Jan. 11, 1830.
JAMES, b. Dec. 6, 1811. d.
Lived in Michigan.
m. 1st, 1842, Nancy Morrison of Cassopolis, Mich.
b. d.
m. 2d, 1848, Sarah Elizabeth Beckwith.
b. d.
WILLIAM HENRY, b. Jan. 28, 1814. d. Michigan, 1864.
m. 1845, Mary S. Neale of St. Joseph.
b. d.
CLARISSA LAMSON, b. Dec. 31, 1815. d. 1870.
MARGARET WOOD, b. July 19, 1818.
EDWARD, b. July 21, 1820. d. May 13, 1843.
MARY FRANCES, b. Aug. 23, 1822. d. Aug. 30, 1825.

FIRST GENERATION. *SECOND GENERATION.* *THIRD GENERATION.*

JAMES SULLIVAN.

b. Berwick, Me., April 22, 1744.
d. Boston, Mass., Dec. 10, 1808.
Judge of the Superior Court, Attorney General, and in 1808 Governor of Massachusetts.

m. 1st Feb. 22, 1768, MEHETABLE ~~Cutler, dau. of William~~
d. Boston, Mass., Jan. 26, 1786.

m. 2d, MARTHA LANGDON.
b. 17
d. Boston, Aug. 26, 1812.
No children.
She had before married,
1st Barrell,
2d Simpson.

SULLIVAN.

JAMES, b. Biddeford, now Saco, Me., Jan. 6, 1769.
d. Boston, Mass., June 29, 1787.
AVIS, b. Saco, Me., Oct. 8, 1771.
d. Oct. 16, 1771.

MEHETABLE, b. Saco, Me., July 29, 1772.
d. Boston, Mass., Mar. 24, 1847.
m. 1st, Feb. 5, 1793, at Boston,
James Cutler.
b. 1767.*
d. Boston, 12 P. M., May 7, 1799.

CUTLER.

MARY ANN, b. Boston, Mar. 6, 1794, d. Boston, Mar. 29, 1860.
m. Jan. 9, 1815, William Appleton, b. Brookfield, Mass., Nov. 16, 1786; d. Longwood, Mass., Feb. 15, 1862.
SARAH DUNN, b. Boston, June 16, 1795; d. Boston, Dec. 18, 1822, unm.
HARRIET HENRIETTA, b. Boston, May 16, 1797; d. Newport, R. I., July 27, 1845, unm.

m. 2d, 1801, at Boston,
Jonathan Amory.
b. Boston, July 7, 1770; d. Boston, Aug. 24, 1828.

He had first married Nancy Weir of Boston, whose mother's Christian name was Ruth, and her father's, Robert. She lived only a year after her marriage (died in 1795), and left no children.

AMORY.

JONATHAN, b. Boston, Nov. 5, 1802; d. Newport, R. I., Sept. 4, 1885.
m. Nov. 7, 1826, Letitia Austin, b. Demerara, Aug. 18, 1809; d. Jamaica Plain, Mass., 1875.
ELIZABETH, b. Boston, Aug. 13, 1805; d. Salem, Mass., July 7, 1859, unm.
FRANCES MARIA, b. Boston, April 28, 1807; d. Longwood, Mass., Feb. 5, 1886.
m. Oct. 17, 1837, Samuel Ogden Meredith, b. Philadelphia, July 5, 1806; d. London, England, April 17, 1877.
JAMES SULLIVAN, b. Boston, May 14, 1809; d. Boston, June 8, 1884.
m. Nov. 28, 1837, Mary Copley Greene, b. Boston, July 21, 1817; d. Boston, April 5, 1892.
REBECCA AUGUSTA, b. Boston, Feb. 17, 1811.
THOMAS COFFIN, b. Boston, Oct. 16, 1812; d. Boston, Aug. 20, 1889, unm.
ISABELLA LENOX, b. Boston, Mar. 12, 1815; d. Boston, Jan. 10, 1888, unm.

WILLIAM, b. Saco, Me., Nov. 30, 1774.
d. Boston, Sept. 3, 1839.
m. May 19, 1802, **Sarah Webb Swan.**
May 19, 1782.

SULLIVAN.

JAMES, b. July 5, 1803; d. Aug. 1829, unm.
CHRISTIANA, b. Sept. 6, 1805; d. Oct. 18, 1806.
WILLIAM AMORY, b. April 19, 1807; d. 1849, unm.
SARAH WILLIAMS, b. Nov. 10, 1810; d. Saratoga, N. Y., March 31, 1892.
m. 1st, Aug. 22, 1832, Gilbert Stuart Newton, R. A., b. Aug. 11, 1797; d. London, Eng., Sept. 5, 1835.
m. 2d, June 25, 1840, William F. Oakey, of New York, b. Aug. 11, 1807; d. Nov. 13, 1888.
JAMES SWAN, b. Feb. 18, 1809; d. Savannah, Ga., Feb., 1874.
m. Nov. , 1839, Jane Valentine.
JOHN TURNER SARGENT, b. *Boston, Sept. 24, 1813; d. Boston, Dec. 31, 1849, unm.*
m. [illegible] James Monfort Selley, M. D., b. Dec. 20, 1816; d. April 5, 1874.
MEREDITH AMORY, b. Jan. 5, 1817; d. Phila., Jan. 3, 1886.
m. San Francisco, Dec. 25, 1853, Catherine Whillock, b.
OLIVIA BUCKMINSTER, b. April 1, 1819; d. Morristown, N. J., 1890.
m. Aug. 15, 1839, John Elliot Ward, b. Oct. 2, 1814.
HEPZIBAH SWAN, b. June 17, 1820.
m. Crocker, of Providence.

JOHN LANGDON, b. Saco, Me., April 9, 1777.
d. Boston, Mass., Feb. 10, 1865.
m. 1st, Oct. 10, 1797, **Elizabeth Russell.**
b. Aug. 17, 1779.
d. Andover, Mass., April 16, 1854.

m. 2d, about 1861, **Susan Macash.**
No children.

SULLIVAN.

THOMAS RUSSELL, b. Boston, Feb. 13, 1799; d. Boston, Dec. 23, 1862.
m. Jan. 19, 1826, Charlotte Caldwell Blake, b. Jan. 14, 1804; d. July 3, 1863.
ELIZABETH, b. Brookline, Mass., Jan. 27, 1800; d. [illegible]n. 16, 1871, unm.
EMILY, b. Brookline, Aug. 4, 1801; d. April 8, 1880, unm.

RICHARD, b. Groton, Mass., June 17, 1779.
d. Dec. 11, 1861.
m. May 22, 1804, **Sarah Russell.**
b. Dec. 1, 1786.
d. June 8, 1831.

SULLIVAN.

ELIZABETH LOWELL, b. Brookline, Mass., Aug. 22, 1805; d. Boston, April 18, 1833, unm.
SARAH SEVER, b. Paris, France, Mar. 30, 1808; d. Boston, Mar. 14, 1839.
m. Nov. 22, 1831, Stephen H. Perkins, b. d.
ANNA CABOT LOWELL, b. Dec. 17, 1810; d. Sept. 6, 1840.
m. Oct. 8, 1834, Francis Cunningham, b. d.
RICHARD, b. Brookline, Mar. 2, 1815; d. Brookline, May 31, 1815.
MARY RUSSELL, b. Brookline, Jan. 28, 1816; d. Brookline, April 27, 1828.
RICHARD, b. Brookline, Mar. 19, 1820.
m. Sept. 10, 1846, Henrietta Gardiner, b. Mar. 8, 1820; d. Franzensbad, Austria, July 17, 1880.
FRANCIS WILLIAM, b. Nov. 4, 1821; d. Brookline, Dec. 2, 1824.
JAMES, b. Brookline, June 27, 1829; d. Mar. 28, 1866, unm.

WILLIAM BANT, b. Groton, Mass., Mar. 16, 1781.
d. Boston, Dec. 4, 1806, unm.

GEORGE, b. Boston, Mass., Feb. 21, 1783.
d. Pau, France, Dec. 14, 1866.
m. Jan. 26, 1809, **Sarah Bowdoin Winthrop.**
b. June 7, 1788.
d. Pau, France, Feb. 1864.

SULLIVAN.

GEORGE RICHARD, added the names James Bowdoin, b. Nov. 14, 1809; d. Mar. 14, 1870.
m. Oct. 23, 1832, Fanny Hamilton, b. Oct. 2, 1813
d. Apr. 25, 1887.
JAMES BOWDOIN, b. Mar. 16, 1811.
m. May 1867, Charlotte Kate Costabadie, of England.

[Both brothers dropped the name Sullivan, property being left on condition of their bearing the name James Bowdoin.]

NANCY, b. Boston, April 24, 1784.
d. Boston, July 22, 1785.

* "May 8, last night at 12 o'clock died Mr. James Cutler, aged 32." — Diary of Miss Mary Fleet. N. E. Gen. and Hist. Register, 1865, Vol. XIX. p. 60.

FIRST GENERATION.

MARY SULLIVAN.

b. Berwick, Me., 1752.
d. Strafford, N. H., autumn of 1827.
m. May 4, 1768, THEOPHILUS HARDY of Durham, N.H. Lived at Durham near her brother, General Sullivan.

SECOND GENERATION.

HARDY.

- BENJAMIN, b. lost at sea.
- SULLIVAN, b.
  d.
  m. 1st, **Priscilla Weston.**
  b. d.
  m. 2d, the widow of Dr. Fisher of bay, Me. No children.
- DOROTHY, b.
  d.
  m. **Edmund Evans**
  b. d.
  Lived at Strafford, N. H.
- SARAH, b.
  d.
  m. **Simeon Gage**
  Concord, N. H.
  b. d.
- MARGERY, b. 1778
  d. Mar. 24, 1824
  m. **Edward Wells** of Durham, N. H.
  b. 1765. d. 1817.

THIRD GENERATION.

HARDY.

- MARY ANN, b.
- LUCY, b.
  m. Charles Lezzner.
- WESTON, b.
  m. Maria H. Arnold.
- SARAH, b.
  m. Luther Frye.
- HARRIET, b.
  m. Daniel Keene.
- BENJAMIN, b.
  m. Elizabeth M. Arnold.
- JAMES MADISON, b. unm.
- SUSAN F., b.
  m. Freeman Fisk.

EVANS.

- DOROTHY, b.
  m. John Rowe.
- ANDREW, b.
- JAMES H., b.
  m. Nancy Davis.
- MARGERY, b.
  m. Nathaniel Hanson.
- GEORGE, S. b.
  m. Kezia Spurlin.
- LOUISA, b.
  m. Caleb Hanson.

HALL.

- EDWARD,
- SAMUEL COLBY,
- LEWIS,
- LOUISA,
- MARGARET WIGGIN, d. May 21, 1880.
- NELSON.

WELLS.

- SUSAN, b. 1798. d. Feb. 1877.
- CHARLES, b. Dec. 18, 1799. d. April 24, 1847.
  m. Mary Wiggin. Lived in New York.
- SAMUEL, b. Aug. 15, 1801. d. July 15, 1868.
  Was Governor of Maine.
  m. May, 1826, Louisa Ann Appleton, dau. Dr. Moses Appleton of Waterville, Me.
- JOHN SULLIVAN, b. Oct. 18, 1803. d. Aug. 1, 1860.
  m. 1832, Rebecca E. Bellows.
- CLARISSA SULLIVAN, b. Aug. 29, 1805. d. 1827, unm.
- MARGERY STEELE, b. d.
  m. Anderson.
- JOSEPH BARTLETT, b. April 27, 1810. d. Dec. 26, 1855, unm. State Attorney and Lieut. Gov. of Illinois.
- FREDERICK BURT, b. Sept. 1, 1816. d. Aug. 27, 1877, unm. U. S. Consul at Bermuda.

FIRST GENERATION.

EBENEZER SULLIVAN.

b. Berwick, Me., Oct. 3, 1753.
d. Charleston, S. C., June 3, 1799.

Served as Captain in the Revolutionary Army during the War of Independence. Practised law at South Berwick.

m. ABIGAIL COTTON of Portsmouth, N. H.

SECOND GENERATION.

SULLIVAN.

JOHN, b. April 1, 1773.
d. Norfolk, Va., July 18, 18 8.
Adopted by his uncle, Major General John Sullivan, and studied law, but chose to go to sea. Lost nearly all his property in the War of 1812.
m. 1803, **Mary Yeaton.**
b. 1779. d. Sept., 1813.
Dau. of Samuel and Margaret (Snow) Yeaton of Durham, N. H.

MARGERY, b. Nov. 16, 1774.
d.
m. Nov. 15, 1797, **Robert Rod**gers of Shapleigh, Me.
b. d. 1830.

MOSES, b. 1776.
d. Sullivan, Me., young and unm.

SARAH, b. 1778.
d. Berwick, Me., unm.

LYDIA, b. Berwick, Me., 1779.
d. Shapleigh, Me.
m. 1805, **William Emery.**
b. d.

THIRD GENERATION.

SULLIVAN.

ELIZA, b. Portsmouth, N. H., March 30, 1805. d. Oct. 2, 1870.
m. June, 1828, Orlando Yeaton of Portsmouth.
b. d.

MARY, b. Portsmouth, July 2, 1806. d. Aug. 22, 1889.
m. Oct. 1827, Dominic Peduzzi of Portsmouth.
b. d. March 3, 1874.

ELMIRA, b. Portsmouth, Aug. 26, 1808. d. June 13, 1877.
m. Dec. 23, 1832, Ammi R. H. Fernald of Portsmouth.
b. d.

JAMES, b. Portsmouth, Jan. 23, 1810. d. Portland, Me., Mar. 18, 1871.
m. Aug., 1842, Ann Matilda Shaw of Boston.
b. d.

SARAH, b. Portsmouth, May 6, 1812. d. Nov. 28, 1887.

RODGERS.

SUSANNAH, b. Aug. 15, 1798. d. Exeter, N. H., Oct. 6, 1864.
m. Levi Fuller of Exeter.
b. d.

ABIGAIL, b. Sept. 18, 1800. d. Amesbury, Mass., Nov. 14, 1831.
m. William Henry Hartwell of Exeter.
b. d.

DAVID MOORE, b. Nov. 6, 1802. d. Pawtucket, R. I., Feb. 17, 1859.
m. 1st, Caroline Smith of Exeter.
b. d.
m. 2d, Mrs. Susannah Jackson of Pawtucket.

WILLIAM, b. May 6, 1806. d. York, Me., March 19, 1875.
m. Priscilla Arbuckle of Beverly.
b. d.

MARGERY, b. Oct. 3, 1808. d. June 15, 1809.

MARTHA WOODBURY, b. June 8, 1810. d. York, Me., Nov. 20, 1883.
m. Solomon Brooks of York.
b. d.

JOHN SULLIVAN, b. Aug. 2, 1812. d. May 16, 1813.

ALEXANDER, b. April 13, 1814. d. Hopkinton, Oct. 4, 1886.
m. Sophia Goodrich of Hopkinton.
b. d.

JOHN SULLIVAN, b. Nov. 25, 1816.
m. Ann D. Fogerty of Boston.

NATHAN BURNHAM, b. April 17, 1821. d. Hallowell, Me., Oct. 29, 1849.
m. Lydia Greely Bailey of Hopkinton.
She afterwards married the Rev. Christopher M. Cordley, and lived at Randolph.